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VASCO DE QUIROGA

AND HIS

PUEBLO-HOSPITALS OF SANTA FE

By the

Reverend Fintan Warren, O. F. M.

A Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in History

The University of New Mexico

1963

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(Rev.) Flintan Benedict Warren
1963

This dissertation, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of The University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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April 30, 1963

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VASCO DE QUIROGA AND HIS PUEBLO-HOSPITALS OF SANTA FE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AC Actas de cabildo de la ciudad de México. 50 vols. México, 1889-1916.
- AGI Archivo General de Indias. Sevilla.
- AGS Archivo General de Simancas. Simancas.
- Aguayo Spencer Aguayo Spencer, Rafael (ed.), Don Vasco de Quiroga: documentos. México, 1939.
- AHN Archivo Histórico Nacional. Madrid.
- Cabrera Burrus, Ernest J. (trans. and ed.). "Cristóbal Cabrera on the Missionary Methods of Vasco de Quiroga," Manuscripta, V (1961), 17-27.
- DII Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía. 42 vols. Madrid, 1864-1884.
- ENE Paso y Troncoso, Francisco del (ed.). Epistolario de Nueva España. 16 vols. México, 1939-1942.
- León, Documentos León, Nicolás, y José Miguel Quintana (eds.). Documentos inéditos referentes al Ilustrísimo Señor Don Vasco de Quiroga. México, 1940.
- León, Quiroga León, Nicolás. El Ilmo. Señor Don Vasco de Quiroga, primer obispo de Michoacán. México, 1903.
- More, Utopia (English) More, Thomas. Utopia, trans. Raphe Robynson, ed. J. Rawson Lumby. Cambridge, England, 1940.
- More, Utopia (Latin) More, Thomas. De Optimo Reip. Statu deque Nova Insula Utopia. Basilea, 1518.
- Moreno Moreno, Juan José. "Fragmentos de la vida y virtudes del V. Ilmo. Sr. Dr. D. Vasco de Quiroga," in Aguayo Spencer, pp. 1-187.
- Puga Puga, Vasco de (comp.). Provisiones, cédulas, instrucciones de su Majestad. 2 vols. México, 1878.

Quiroga, "Información en derecho" "Información en derecho del Lic. Quiroga sobre algunas provisiones del Real Consejo de Indias," in Aguayo Spencer, pp. 291-406.

Quiroga, "Ordenanzas" Quiroga, Vasco de. "Reglas y ordenanzas para el gobierno de los hospitales de Santa Fe de México y Michoacán," in Aguayo Spencer, pp. 249-265.

Quiroga, "Testamento" "Testamento del Ilmo. Sr. D. Vasco de Quiroga," in Aguayo Spencer, pp. 271-287, as compared with MS copy in AGI, Justicia, leg. 208, no. 4.

Quiroga vs. Infante, 1539 Juan Infante, vecino de México, con D. Vasco de Quiroga, obispo de Michoacán, y D. Pedro Panza, indio gobernador de la dicha provincia, sobre que a estos se les multase por haberle impedido la posesión de unos pueblos que tenía en encomienda, 1539. AGI, Justicia, leg. 129, no. 3.

Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540 Autos del obispo y la ciudad de Michoacán con Juan Infante, vecino de México sobre que a este le restituyeran los pueblos de Comanja y Naranja con los estancias a ellos sujetos que le habían sido encomendados, 1540. AGI, Justicia, leg. 130.

Quiroga vs. Martín Cortés D. Vasco de Quiroga, obispo de Michoacán, con D. Martín Cortés, Marqués del Valle, sobre la jurisdicción del pueblo de Santa Fe de México, 1563. AGI, Escrivanía de Cámara, leg. 159A, segunda pieza.

Quiroga vs. Ruiz Gonzalo Ruiz, vecino y regidor de México, y el fiscal con el obispo de Michoacán, D. Vasco de Quiroga, sobre que tributasesen los indios del pueblo nuevo de Santa Fe, distante una legua de México, 1557. AGI, Justicia, leg. 204, no. 3, ramo 3.

RSA Residencia que se tomó a los Licenciados Juan Salmerón, Alonso Maldonado, Francisco Ceynos, y Vasco de Quiroga, presidente y oidores que fueron de la Audiencia de México del tiempo que sirvieron sus oficios; por el Licenciado Francisco de Loaysa, oidor de aquella audiencia, 1535-1536. AGI, Justicia, leg. 232.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Vasco de Quiroga, one of the truly great figures sent from Spain to New Spain in the sixteenth century, stands out for his contributions to the political, ecclesiastical, and social development of Mexico. He was sent to the New World by the Spanish crown as a member of the Second Audiencia of Mexico in an effort to straighten out the confusion and turmoil which had resulted from ten years of struggling factionalism in the young colony and from the disastrous regime of Nuño de Guzmán and his companions of the First Audiencia. The Aztec empire had been finally and definitively subjugated to Spanish rule by Hernando Cortés in August of 1521. Hardly had the conquest been completed when dissatisfaction aroused murmuring and dissention among the Conqueror's followers. Cortés managed to keep matters in hand for a few years by sending his captains and soldiers on various expeditions. But when one of these expeditions seemed to be turning against Cortés and he marched off to Honduras in 1524, his enemies gained the upper hand in Mexico. They soon despoiled many of Cortés' followers of their encomiendas and possessions, distributing them among others who had not been so bountifully rewarded. Even Cortés himself suffered serious losses in this change of power. When he returned to Mexico in 1526 he attempted to restore conditions as they had been previous to his departure, but soon

his powers as governor were taken from him, passing in quick succession from Luis Ponce de León to Marcos de Aguilar to Alonso de Estrada. Each played to one side or the other of the factions in the colony.

In December 1527 a new direction was given to the government of Mexico with the appointment of an audiencia, consisting of a presidente and four oidores, to direct the affairs of the colony. Nuño de Guzmán, who had previously been governor of Pánuco, in present-day northeastern Mexico, was appointed to the office of presidente. Only two of the oidores, Juan Ortiz de Matienzo and Diego Delgadillo, were able to fill their offices. These officials, who assumed authority at the end of 1528, had soon turned the political order of Mexico topsy-turvy by taking every means to feather their own nests and by rewarding their own followers by grants and privileges taken from the friends of Cortés. Complaints came thick and fast to King and Council in Spain, and in late 1529 the crown began putting out feelers for members of a new audiencia to replace entirely the one which was showing such bad results in Mexico. Among those who were contacted and who accepted the appointment was the Licenciado Vasco de Quiroga, a man in his middle or late fifties, who had already served his government in several positions of trust.

Little did the licenciado, an unordained layman, realize that in accepting this position he would be opening the way to his appointment as the first bishop of the diocese of Michoacán in western Mexico, an office which would give him a position of influence in Mexican ecclesiastical affairs for nearly thirty years. As oidor he would also establish the pueblo-hospitals of Santa Fe near the cities of México and Michoacán

(Tzintzuntzan), a work of social beneficence for which his name is still remembered among the enemies of his Church as well as among its friends.

It is with these pueblo-hospitals of Santa Fe that this paper will treat. The study of these hospitals has been attempted several times previously but it was done on the basis of incomplete printed sources or only from an organizational point of view. Thus, most modern writers, such as Paul L. Callens, S. J., in his Tata Vasco, a Great Reformer of the 16th Century, Benjamín Jarnés in his Don Vasco de Quiroga, obispo de Utopia, M. M. Lacas and Paul Lietz in their various articles, and Nicolás León in El Ilmo. Señor Don Vasco de Quiroga, primer obispo de Michoacán, have reviewed the work of Quiroga, with greater or lesser thoroughness, on the basis of previously published documentation with some small amount of new material.¹ On the other hand, Silvio Zavala has concentrated on the origin of the idea of the pueblos and their ordinances, developing especially his discovery of the influence of Thomas More on the formulation of the ordinances. He has presented his findings in three works: La Utopia de Tomás Moro en la Nueva España y otros estudios; Ideario de Vasco de Quiroga; and Sir Thomas More in New Spain. The first of these essays evoked a rather impassioned reply entitled Santo Tomás More y "La Utopia de Tomás Moro en La Nueva España," by Justino Fernández and Edmundo O'Gorman. The Zavala thesis, however, has stood up well under further study and criticism.

¹ Since the following paragraphs constitute merely a short bibliographical summary, complete citations are not given. For complete citations the reader is referred to the bibliography at the end of the work.

The documentary publications for Quiroga, although they appear to be quite extensive, are actually more extensive in their duplication than in their originality, and are in general rather poorly done. The standard documentary collections, Colección de documentos inéditos de Indias, Cedulario de Puga, and Epistolario de Nueva España, need only be mentioned. León made a major contribution in his life of Quiroga by publishing the bishop's will (although a very faulty copy) together with several items of correspondence to and from Quiroga. In 1940 appeared two volumes of documents on Quiroga, both marred seriously by faulty method.² José Miguel Quintana published Documentos inéditos referentes al ilustrísimo Señor Don Vasco de Quiroga, existentes en el Archivo General de Indias, recopilados por Nicolás León. As the editor indicates in his preface, the published documents had passed through several manuscript copies. When compared with the originals they are found to be replete with copyists' errors. Rafael Aguayo Spencer, in Don Vasco de Quiroga: documentos, for the main part republished documents from older printed sources, retaining all the errors of the first printings. This is true both of the "Información en derecho" and of the "Testamento." In the former, republished from the Colección de documentos inéditos de Indias, X, 333-525, several important marginal notations are missing, as are also two pages of the original text, which is to be found in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. The testament is reprinted from León's life of Quiroga, and contains several copyist's errors, major or minor,

²For a criticism of these two works, see Sergio Méndez Arceo, "Dos libros sobre Don Vasco de Quiroga," Abside, IV, no. 11 (November, 1940), 62-64.

on every page. Each of these documentary volumes prints a group of questions and testimony from Quiroga's residencia of 1536, but both depend ultimately upon an incomplete selection of the questions of the descargos, a selection made by Quiroga to defend his rights over the pueblos de Santa Fe in 1554.

The intent of the present essay is to study the history of these public-hospitals, principally from a narrative point of view, although this will necessarily entail some probing into the ideological background of these experiments in Christian philanthropy. In making this study, the main dependence will be upon documentation collected in various archives of Spain during 1961. But one cannot neglect the older secondary sources, such as Juan José Moreno's Fragmentos de la vida y virtudes del V. Ilmo. y Rmo. Sr. Dr. D. Vasco de Quiroga (1766), the most complete life of Quiroga yet written, as well as the various religious chronicles of the area. Moreno in particular had access to many documents in Michoacán which are now lost to us.

The documentation collected in Spain has certain shortcomings. For the main part it consists of the official copies of several lawsuits in which Quiroga became involved in the defense of his pueblos. Although Quiroga submitted many documents of primary importance as evidence in these lawsuits, they do not give us the personal insights into the inner workings of the pueblos that we would like to have. Personal correspondence from Quiroga to the Council of the Indies was found to be singularly scarce, considering his importance for the period and the length of time during which he was active. Only three or four personal letters were found,

none of which sheds any light on the actual operations of the pueblo-hospitals. The lawsuits, then, must be our principal source. In spite of their obvious shortcomings for showing the inner spirit of the hospitals, they have preserved for us a surprising amount of factual historical material regarding Quiroga's enterprises.

The breakdown of the material into chapters will be as follows. Chapter II will consider Quiroga's Spanish background up to the time of his appointment as oidor of New Spain. Chapter III will study the concept of the hospitals--the various influences which shaped the concept, the development of the concept in Quiroga's mind, and the expression of the concept in the ordinances of the pueblos. The realization of the concept in the founding of the pueblo-hospital of Santa Fe near Mexico City will be the subject matter for Chapter IV. In Chapter V we will consider the opposition which beset the pueblo from its very beginning up to the end of Quiroga's life in 1565. In Chapter VI we will turn our attention to Michoacán, briefly tracing the course of its history from the time of the conquest through the period of Quiroga's visitation there in 1533-1534 and including the establishment of the second pueblo de Santa Fe near Lake Pátzcuaro. The development of this pueblo during Quiroga's lifetime, also in the face of considerable opposition, will constitute the subject of Chapter VII. Chapter VIII will conclude the body of the work, with a consideration of Quiroga's will, his death, and its aftermath in relation to the pueblos de Santa Fe. In Chapter IX, we will draw certain conclusions from the previous chapters.

Before entering into the body of the paper, we would like to make some clarifying remarks in regard to the term "hospital" when used

in reference to the pueblos de Santa Fe. Hospital, in modern English usage, has taken on almost exclusively the sense of a place set aside for the medical care of the sick and injured. We forget the close relationship in derivation between hospital and hospitality. But there is an older meaning for hospital in English which is considerably broader in significance. Hospital in this sense is defined as "a charitable institution for the refuge, maintenance, or education of needy, aged, infirm, or young persons."³ This definition is descriptive of many, if not most of the hospital foundations in the Middle Ages and early modern times in both Europe and Spanish America. It is in this sense that Quiroga applied the word to the pueblos that he founded. They were to be what we might call asylums, refuges, or "homes," caring not only for the sick but also for orphans, widows, and all types of unfortunates. Quiroga considered that lack of knowledge of the Christian faith and of civilized practices were among the most serious misfortunes suffered by the Indians. For this reason instruction and training always held a high place among the works of Quiroga's pueblo-hospitals and, indeed, motivated the name he gave to them, pueblos de Santa Fe. These pueblo-hospitals may be described as communities organized for the achievement of social, philanthropic, and religious ends.

³Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (5th ed., Springfield, Mass., 1948), p. 481.

CHAPTER II

QUIROGA IN SPAIN

Who was Vasco de Quiroga and what were his origins? He was born in a small but distinguished town on the plain of Castilla la Vieja, a town with the imposing name of Madrigal de las Altas Torres.¹ The date of his birth is unknown. The year 1470 has usually been assigned for his birth because of the generally accepted tradition that he was ninety-five when he died in the year 1565.² There is, however, considerable reason for fixing a later date for his birth. An apostolic brief, "Exponi nobis," of Paul III, dated May 12, 1549, indicates that after Quiroga received his appointment as bishop he appealed for a dispensation from the triennial episcopal obligation of visiting Rome on the ground that he was in his sixtieth year.³ But the bulls of Quiroga's appointment could hardly have arrived in Mexico before the summer of 1537, since the cost for dispatching them was paid only on March 2 of that year.⁴ If, then, Quiroga was in his sixtieth year (i.e., fifty-nine

¹Quiroga, "Testamento," p. 277; Moreno, p. 19.

²Aguayo Spencer, p. 191, n. 3.

³Sergio Méndez Arceo, "Contribución a la historia de Don Vasco de Quiroga," Abside, V (1941), 206. There is a possibility that Quiroga intended to signify merely that he was over sixty years old, but the wording of the brief, "ac in sexagesimo tuae aetatis anno constitutum existis," indicates rather an exact statement of age.

⁴Ibid., p. 199.

years old) in 1537, we would have to place the year of his birth at least as late as 1477, and possibly 1478. Research in the parish archives of Madrigal failed to shed any light on this problem. Baptismal records there begin only in 1535.

The family of Quiroga was not native to Old Castile but was of Galician origin. The ancient castle of Quiroga, where the family originated, is in the valley of the same name in the province of Lugo. There is a tradition that the Quirogas were in Galicia before the coming of the Saracens and that a valiant knight of the family defended the valley of Quiroga against the Saracen advance in 715 A. D. with iron-tipped estacas (pikes, stakes?). On this feat was based the family coat of arms--five estacas on a field of green--which Bishop Quiroga used for his small seal.⁵ The first definitely documented appearance of the family occurred during the reign of Fernando III el Santo, when a Don Vasco de Quiroga was listed among the ricohombres as lord of the castle in the valley of Quiroga.⁶

Bishop Vasco de Quiroga came by his surname rather indirectly through a female line. His lineage is somewhat difficult to trace, although by combining several sources we can gain a fairly complete picture. Fray Felipe de la Gádara, seventeenth-century Galician genealogist, tells us that Bishop Vasco de Quiroga of Michoacán and Cardinal Gaspar de Quiroga of Toledo were grandson and great-grandson respectively of

⁵ AGI, México, leg. 281.

⁶ Arturo y Alberto García Carraffa, Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos españoles y americanos, LXXIV (Madrid, 1955), 78.

Don Gonzalo Rodríguez de Valcárcel and Emilia Vázquez de Quiroga.⁷ Francisca de Quiroga Fajardo, a descendant of the family at the time of Philip IV, wrote that Vasco de Quiroga was in fact the uncle of Gaspar de Quiroga.⁸ This bit of information clarifies the problem considerably, since there is a manuscript genealogy of Cardinal Quiroga in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.⁹ Although this genealogy is written in rather obscure verse, a person can with effort derive a lineage from it. It tells us that Cardinal Quiroga's father, who would be Bishop Vasco de Quiroga's brother, was named Álvaro de Quiroga. Their father also bore the name Vasco de Quiroga, although it seems that in his youth he was known as Gómez Vázquez. This elder Vasco de Quiroga had two brothers, Don Álvaro de Quiroga and Rodrigo Hernández de Quiroga. Don, or Frey, Álvaro de Quiroga was a professed member of the military order of San Juan de Jerusalén. His name also appears in the records of this order in 1475 as comendador of Incio and of the Casa de San Lorenzo, in 1490 as comendador of Incio and Puertomarín, and in 1498 as comendador of Incio, Puertomarín, Quiroga, and Osoño.¹⁰ The elder Vasco seems to have been the first of the family to come to live in Madrigal. The versified

⁷ Felipe de la Gádara, Nobiliario, armas y triunfos de Galicia, hechos heróicos de sus hijos, y elogios de su nobleza y de la mayor de España y Europa (Madrid, 1677), p. 284.

⁸ Francisca de Quiroga Fajardo, Memorial genealógico del claro vetustísimo origen del apellido de Quiroga y su descendencia solariega ilustre (no place or date given), f. 8v.

⁹ Robleda, "Genealogía del Cardenal Quiroga," Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS. 3451.

¹⁰ AHN, Sección Histórica, Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén, Lengua de Castilla, Encomiendas: Quiroga, 1256-1714.

genealogy reveals that he was brought to Madrigal by his uncle Gonzalo de Quiroga, Grand Prior of the Order of San Juan, and was married to a woman of an illustrious family. Her name is not given.¹¹

The parents of the elder Vasco were Pero Vázquez de la Sumoza and Constancia García de Quiroga. Constancia García had two brothers of importance, García Rodríguez de Quiroga and Frey Gonzalo de Quiroga. The fortunes of the family seem to have benefited a great deal from the fact that Frey Gonzalo became Grand Prior of the Order of San Juan. Not only did Frey Álvaro become an important encomendero and Vasco make a good marriage, but two other nephews were brought into Castile and married to noble women, one to Doña Francisca Treviño de Loaisa and the other to Doña Leonor de Perea.¹²

Constancia García de Quiroga was the daughter of Gonzalo Rodríguez de Valcárcel Balboa y Santalla and Emilia Vázquez de Quiroga. Gándara indicates that Vasco Núñez de Balboa was a grandson of Gonzalo Rodríguez.¹³

¹¹ The coming of the elder Vasco to Madrigal is told in the following verse by Robleda:

El nombre mas propio del otro [hijo] Vasco era
al qual el prier de San Juan venerava
y mas que a los otros sobrinos amava
y así de sí nunca xamás lo partiera
asta que Real casamiento le diera
con una señera dentro en Madrigal
generosa, ylustre, no su desigual
y por sobre nombre Quiroga pusiera.

¹² Origen de los Decas y Quirogas de Ciudad Real según la relación del Señor Luis Correa, alcalde de la hermandad vieja de la dicha ciudad, y otros caballeros de ella, contained in Probanza de hidalgua de Antonio Gonzales de Espinosa, 1636, Archivo de la Chancillería Real (Granada), Hidalgua, leg. 183, pieza 329.

¹³ Gándara, Nobiliario, p. 529.

which would make him a first cousin of Bishop Quiroga's father, but there is no statement to support this in any of the other sources. For some clarification of this genealogical maze, see the accompanying table.

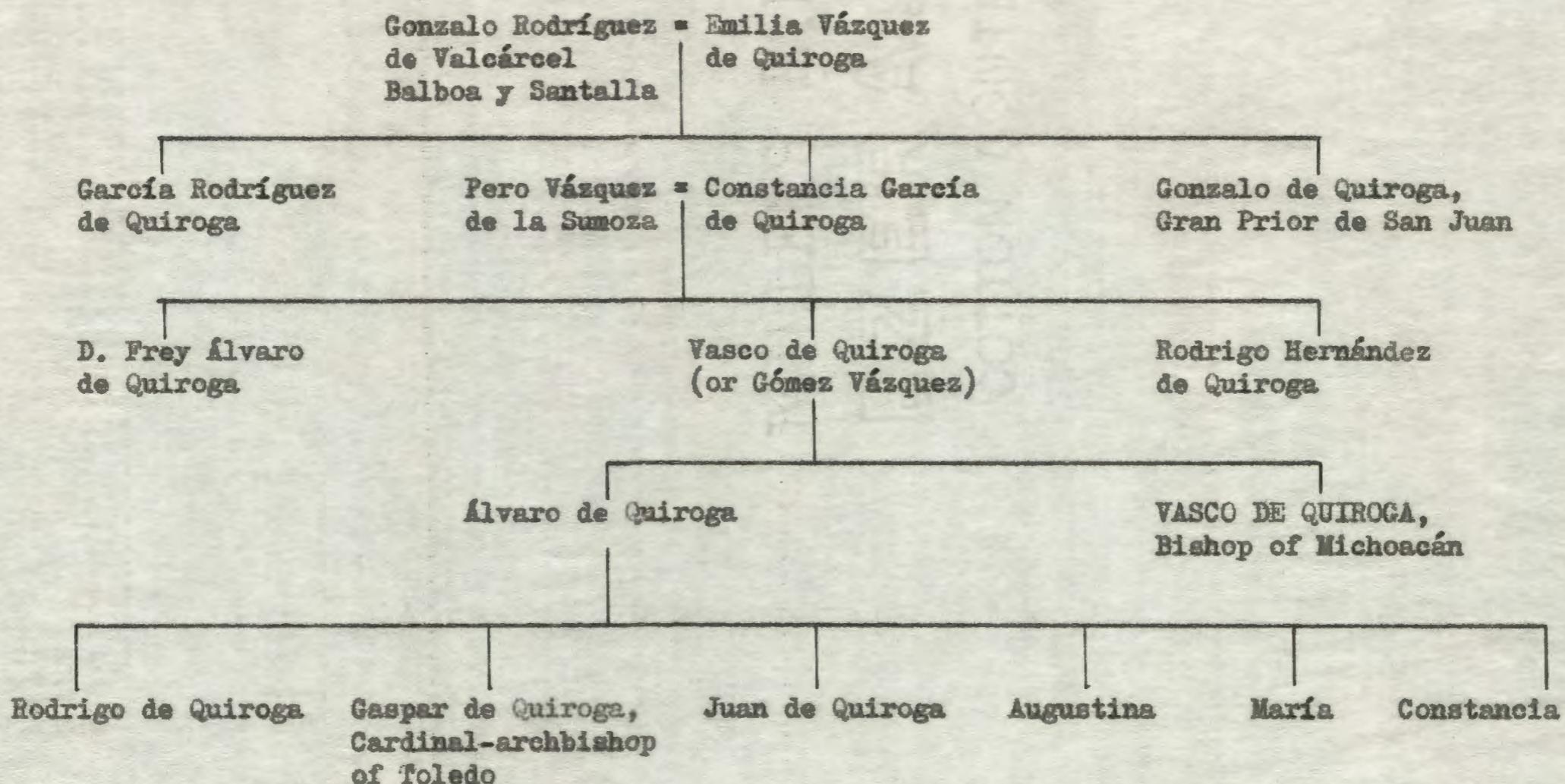
Of young Vasco de Quiroga's education we know next to nothing. It is said that he studied jurisprudence in Valladolid,¹⁴ but records of matriculation at the university there do not exist for the time of Quiroga's youth. None of the contemporary documents known at this time mention anything about his schooling. We know only that he held a licenciate in canon law but not in sacred theology. The bull of his nomination to the see of Michoacán was made out to him as though he were a licenciate in sacred theology, but with a lawyer's scrupulosity for exactness in official documents he asked the Holy See that this error be corrected. The correction was made in an apostolic brief, "Exponi nobis," of July 8, 1550.¹⁵

Anyone who deals with Quiroga's writings soon realizes the extent of his erudition. The most lengthy extant document written by Quiroga is the so-called "Información en derecho," composed in 1535. It was written as an objection to a royal decree allowing the purchase of slaves from the Indians, but it treated a wide range of more general questions of Indian policy. In it Quiroga mustered an impressive number of authorities to support or illustrate his points. Besides a large

¹⁴ Cartas de Indias (Madrid, 1877), p. 827.

¹⁵ Méndez Arceo, "Contribución a la historia de Don Vasco de Quiroga," pp. 207-208.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE QUIROGA FAMILY



number of explicit and implicit references to Sacred Scripture, he also quoted extensively from the Fathers of the Church--St. John Chrysostom, St. Cyril, St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. Augustine, and St. Ambrose. Among more recent ecclesiastical writers he quoted St. Antonine, Pope Innocent III, Cardinal Cajetan, Johann Faber, and John Gerson. He also took excerpts from a Carthusian Life of Christ and from a volume called Espejo de Religiosos. Among contemporary authors quoted or referred to are the humanists Guillaume Budé, Sebastian Brant, Antonio de Guevara, and Thomas More. His references to classical authors are not extensive, but they include Aristotle, Lucian, and Horace. Citations of strictly legal authorities, of course, are abundant, among them the codes of Aleric and Theodosius, the legists Angelo de Arecio, Christoforus, and Jason Maynus, and the decrees of the Council of Basle.¹⁶ This array of authorities, which Quiroga was able to muster when he needed them, indicates how extensive and profitable must have been his reading. We know that he was still an avid reader of new books after he became oidor in Mexico, since it was then that he came into contact with the writings of Lucian and Thomas More.¹⁷

The early career of Vasco de Quiroga is still a closed book. The first references to him which the present writer could find in the Spanish archives date from March 1525, when Quiroga was in his fifties or nearly so. On March 6, 1525, Licenciado Vasco de Quiroga was in the

¹⁶ Quiroga, "Información en derecho," passim.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 381, 387.

North African city of Oran, acting as judge of residencia of the corregidor of that city, Licenciado Alonso Páez de Ribera.¹⁸

Oran had been taken from the Moslems by conquest only in 1509.¹⁹ The Spaniards had a difficult time establishing a stable government for this small holding in the midst of Moslem kingdoms. Licenciado Páez de Ribera was commissioned by the Spanish crown to act as corregidor, or royal official in charge of overseeing the general civil administration of the colony. We know that Páez de Ribera was in Oran already in 1522, since among the Memoriales de Cámara in the Archive of Simancas for that year there appear a report from him on the insecurity of the beach of Oran and the villa of Mazalquivir, and also a note to the effect that he and his wife had taken articles of food and clothing from Christian, Moorish, and Jewish merchants and had distributed them among the Spanish troops, who were suffering from hunger and cold. At the time when the latter report was made, Páez de Ribera had returned to the royal court for some reason, probably to ask for help, and his wife was taking care of problems in Oran. The cost of the things taken from the merchants had been charged against the wages of the soldiers, and the corregidor was appealing that the wages be paid so as to satisfy the merchants.²⁰

¹⁸ Claudio Burdilión y Tomás Breton y sus consortes saboyanos contra el licenciado Páez de Ribera, corregidor que fué de Orán sobre ciertas fardeles de bordates, 1525, AGS, Consejo Real, leg. 97, fol. 3.

¹⁹ Harold Livermore, A History of Spain (London, 1958), p. 201.

²⁰ AGS, Memoriales de Cámara, leg. 183, fol. 45; leg. 146, fol. 189.

A petition from the city of Oran, complaining of these activities of the corregidor, was sent to the crown on April 21, 1523, signed by all but one of the regidores of the city. They stated that Páez de Ribera had been in office for about three years and had done much harm to many people, taking away a large quantity of money from Jewish, Moorish, and Christian merchants and officials by way of loan and by other unjust and illegal means. At the time of the petition Páez was away from the city, and the town council requested that he be sent back to undergo a residencia.²¹

About this time also a group of the military leaders of Oran sent a petition before the Royal Council of Castile, objecting especially to the corregidor's arrest and trial of Luis Álvarez, capitán de la gente del campo for the city of Oran. Álvarez had been arrested for selling a horse to the Moors and for hiding some Moors, apparently sometime in late 1521. Ribera had held him in prison without sentence and without bond for two months. The case had been appealed to the Chancillería of Granada on March 21, 1522, and was later taken before the Royal Council itself, accompanied by a letter of attorney from all the military leaders of the Oran area.²²

A blank cedula of appointment of a judge of residencia for Oran was found among the Memoriales de Cámara, signed by the King in Logroño, October 3, 1523. The judge was instructed to read a report from Oran by Bartolomé Ruyz de Castañeda before going to his assignment. The

²¹ Ibid., leg. 157, fol. 24.

²² Ibid., leg. 163, ininventariados.

judge was especially warned to look into frauds of the military officials, who were reportedly keeping on their list useless and absent men as well as their servants and friends, paying salary to these men in clothing and munitions, and also collecting salary for absent, dead, and captive soldiers. Further, he was to check reports that the captains and officers were using for their own enterprises the soldiers who were on a salary from the crown. He was also to look into possible offenses of the corregidor and other officials.²³

This cedula was apparently put into effect only after considerable delay. The actual transcript of the judgment of residencia carried out by Quiroga in Oran has not come to light, so we do not know the exact date when he undertook his work there. We can say with certainty, however, that as late as November 29, 1524, Ribera's teniente in Oran, Licenciado Pedro de Liminiana, was judging cases in the city.²⁴ The earliest record of Quiroga's activity there begins on March 6, 1525, the first date in a suit by two Savoyan merchants, Claudio Burdilion and Tomás Breton, against Páez de Ribera for having confiscated some of their goods. The two merchants presented a claim for eighty-five bales of a type of cloth called bordat which they evaluated at 65 doblas per bale, or a total of 5,625 [sic] dobblas and they also claimed 5,000 dobblas in losses ensuing from the confiscation. They petitioned that the

²³ Ibid., leg. 163, fol. 50.

²⁴ El Licenciado Liminiana con el Licenciado Quiroga, juez de residencia de Orán, sobre haber éste anulado una sentencia dada por el primero como juez de residencia contra Baptista Caxines condenándole a restitución de 30 ducados de oro, 1526, AGS, Consejo Real, leg. 30, fol. 11.

corregidor give bond for the loss or be kept in custody. Quiroga acceded to their request, imprisoning Ribera first in the house where Quiroga himself was staying and later in a sala of the castle of Razaloázar for greater security. His imprisonment was to be without bonds or other restraints, and he was to be free within the limits of his prison to carry out everything necessary for the defense of his rights. He was commanded to appoint an attorney who would appear in his place at the hearings of the residencia. He appointed Licenciado Liminiana as his attorney. The case ran on all through the summer of 1525, while the other business of the residencia was undoubtedly also being carried on. Finally on August 16 Quiroga moderated the claims and passed sentence in favor of Burdilion and Breton. Ribera was ordered to restore the bundles of bordates or to pay 60 Moorish doblas (at a rate of 350 maravedís per dobla) for each bundle. Moreover, he was condemned to pay 1,500 doblas for loss of interest and profit to the merchants, 800 ducados for certain taxes that the merchants had paid, and 600 ducados for loss suffered when a boatload of cloth from Europe had turned back for fear of Ribera. The corregidor was also assessed the costs of the litigation. On September 2 Ribera presented a royal cedula, dated February 1, 1525, allowing him to appeal any large-scale penalties that might be imposed on him. The wording of the cedula indicates that the residencia had already been well under way by the beginning of February.²⁵

²⁵ Gaudio Burdilion y Tomás Breton y sus consortes saboyanos contra el Licenciado Páez de Ribera, 1525, AGS, Consejo Real, leg. 97, fol. 3.

Another brief but complicated suit which survives from the period of Quiroga's activities in Oran was centered around a certain rich Genoese merchant named Baptista Caxines. Sometime during Ribera's tenure of office, Caxines had made an agreement with a tailor named Alexos de Pastrana that for the sum of 24 ducados Pastrana's wife, María de Garay, would live with Caxines for a year. In October 1524 the case was heard before Ribera's teniente, Licenciado Liminiana. On November 24 of the same year Liminiana condemned Caxines to a fine of 24 ducados for the cámaras real and repairs to the government buildings. In March 1525 Caxines appealed the case before Quiroga. After a few preliminary petitions the case was dropped until November. Then Quiroga reversed the previous decision, not because he judged Caxines innocent but because he considered that the cámaras real and the city of Oran had no right to exact a fine in this case in which neither of them had suffered damage. It was a decision formed strictly according to the dictates of law, even though it must have gone against the feelings of Quiroga, who, as we know from other sources, was a man of strict moral principles.

The case did not end there. A new corregidor and judge of residence, Doctor Sancho de Librija, arrived in the summer of 1526, and Quiroga had to give an account of his stewardship. On August 11, 1526, Licenciado Liminiana charged that his sentence against Caxines had been unjustly revoked by Quiroga in ill will merely to prove that what Liminiana had done was done badly. Librija judged in favor of Liminiana and the case was remitted to the Royal Council. The final act of the suit in Oran was made on September 27, 1526, when Quiroga pledged

his goods against possible penalties. This is the last date we have for Quiroga's activities in Oran.²⁶

The new corregidor of Oran must have arrived in late July or early August 1526. Quiroga, in order to protect himself against heavy fines resulting from his residencia, obtained a cedula from the Council, limiting the extent to which he could be fined without appeal.²⁷ The cedula was signed by the Council in Granada on August 2, 1526.

Nevertheless, Quiroga was called upon to carry out one more official function even after the new corregidor had arrived. In virtue of a cedula issued in Granada on June 23, 1526, while Quiroga was still actually judge of residencia, he was empowered to act as one of the representatives of the Spanish crown in drawing up a new treaty of peace with the King of Tremecen, a Moorish state bordering on Oran. The other Spanish representative was Pedro de Godoy, lieutenant of Don Luis Hernández de Córdoba, who was captain general of the Spanish forces in Tunis and Tremecen. Abdula, the King of Tremecen, was represented by five ambassadors: Hadix Lentuni, and Buzien (or Bucacen), Moorish knights; Hayn, the sheik (xeque) of the Jews of Tremecen; and Xoa and Beniacar, Jewish servants of the King of Tremecen. There had apparently been considerable bickering over the amount of tribute that the King of Tremecen should pay. He had offered an annual tribute of 5,000 doblas de parias (also called doblas moriscas), pleading that this was all he could

²⁶ El Licenciado Liminiana con el Licenciado Quiroga, 1526, AGS, Consejo Real, leg. 30, fol. 11.

²⁷ Ibid.

they wished without being subjected to any impediment. Article thirteen gave the assurance that the vassals of the King of Tremecen would not be made Christians by force but might live freely under their own law in their houses and haciendas, and that in all the realms of Spanish monarchs they would be treated as vassals of those monarchs, guarding the laws of those realms.²⁸

Quiroga's work in Oran was in many ways a preparation for the type of work that he would be called upon to carry out on a larger scale in the New World. He was sent to a recently conquered colony, one in which conditions were still unsettled and the relationship between conquered and conqueror had not been satisfactorily worked out. His work was to investigate the reported injustices of an official previously sent out by the crown, whose administration had aroused complaints from various groups in the colony. He was also working in an area where the majority of the people were of non-Spanish culture and background. In the New World he would meet with these same problems but they would be considerably more far-reaching and of greater basic importance.

After the completion of his work in Oran Quiroga again disappears from sight. In the records of the Casa Real in the Archive of Simancas there is reference to a Vasco de Quiroga between the years 1526 and 1529. He held the office of "mozo de la capilla" of Queen Juana la Loca in

²⁸ Tratado de paz ajustado entre Pedro de Godoy, teniente del Marqués de Comares, capitán general de los Reinos de Tremecen y Tunec y el Licenciado Quiroga, juez de residencia de Orán, y ciertos embajadores del rey de Tremecen, fecho en Orán a 12 de agosto de 1526, AGS, Consejo Real, leg. 61, fol. 5-v.

Tordesillas. His brother, Gaspar de Quiroga, had held the office for fourteen years previously and had renounced it in favor of Vasco on February 2, 1526. Vasco was given the office by a royal letter patent dated Sevilla, April 28, 1526. His office allowed him to assist at all the hours of the divine office and all other functions celebrated in the royal chapel. For this he was paid 3,333 maravedís three times a year beginning on December 27, 1526, and continuing until he resigned the office on December 8, 1529. Occasionally he was also paid something in addition as ayuda de costa.²⁹

Is this the same Vasco de Quiroga about whom we have been speaking? It is possible, but there are weighty considerations to the contrary. One fact to be considered is that nowhere is this mozo de la capilla referred to as Licenciado Quiroga. In all other royal documents referring to the Vasco de Quiroga in whom we are interested, he is always referred to by his proper title of licenciado. It seems unlikely that only in this case would his title be overlooked. Further, the humble office of mozo de la capilla with its meager pay of 9,999 maravedís per annum does not seem to be one that would attract a prominent letrado who had been carrying out important labors in the service of the Spanish crown.

On the other hand, the dates within which this Vasco de Quiroga held this office would lend some force to an argument identifying him with Licenciado Quiroga. The first payment of his salary was for the

²⁹ AGS, Casa Real: Vasco de Quiroga.

last third of the year 1526, a time when Licenciado Quiroga had just returned from his work in Oran and was in line for a small reward. His renunciation of the office on December 8, 1529, preceded by only five days Licenciado Quiroga's first summons to the royal presence prior to his appointment as oidor of New Spain.³⁰ It may be that he was given this small sinecure which he held until the first enquiries were made relative to the position in Mexico, but the opinion of the present writer is to the contrary.

The question of how Licenciado Vasco de Quiroga came by his appointment as oidor of New Spain is again shrouded in considerable darkness. The most enlightening statement regarding this problem was made by Nuñío de Guzmán in 1540. In a recusation made as part of his residencia the ex-presidente of the Audiencia of Mexico was trying to prove bias of judgment on the part of Doctor Juan Bernal Díaz de Lugo, a member of the Council of the Indies. He stated that before Doctor Bernal became a member of the Council of the Indies he acted as a letrado of the Cardinal of Toledo, Juan de Tavera, who was president of the Royal Council of Castile. In this capacity Bernal was given certain letters from the bishops of Mexico City and Tlascala, carried by followers of the Marqués del Valle, Hernando Cortés, with the intent that they be shown to the Cardinal. These letters, which were highly critical of Guzmán, were passed on by Doctor Bernal to the Cardinal and, according to Guzmán, Bernal had used every means at his disposal to have Guzmán

³⁰ AGI, México, leg. 1088, T. 1529-1530, f. 125v.

removed from office. In his zeal to remedy conditions in Mexico Bernal had also used his influence to have Licenciado Quiroga appointed as one of the oidores who were to go to New Spain to take the residencia of Guzmán and the members of the First Audiencia. Guzmán accused Bernal of having instructed Quiroga to do everything he could against him and in favor of the bishops and the Marqués del Valle. He claimed further that Bernal wrote Quiroga many letters, charging him to proceed with all rigor in the residencia of Guzmán and the oidores. Bernal, in his reply to Guzmán's accusations, denied that he had any bad will against the latter, but he did not deny his relationship with Quiroga.³¹

The general facts of Guzmán's statement stand up very well historically. Doctor Bernal entered the service of Cardinal Juan de Tavera in 1525 after having spent some years as ecclesiastical judge and vicar general of the diocese of Salamanca. In 1525 Tavera was Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, and soon afterwards he was moved to the even more important position of Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spain. He was president of both the Chancillería Real of Valladolid and the Royal Council of Castile. During the time when the Emperor Charles V was absent from Spain, from July 1529 to April 1533, Tavera was the principal advisor of the Empress Isabella.³² Thus Doctor Bernal was

³¹ El señor fiscal con Nuño de Guzmán sobre cierta recusación que hizo del señor Doctor Bernal, 1540, AGI, Justicia, leg. 338.

³² Tomás Marín, "La biblioteca del obispo Juan Bernal Díaz de Luco (1495-1556)," Hispania Sacra, V (1952), 263-326; Manuel de Foronda y Aguilera, Estancias y viajes del Emperador Carlos V desde el día de su nacimiento hasta él de su muerte (Madrid, 1914), pp. 327, 374.

and the other side of the river. The first was a small fortification
with a single bastion, which had been built by the Spaniards in 1625.
The fort was surrounded by a moat, and the town was built around it.
The fort was captured by the English in 1658, and the town was taken
over by the English. The fort was then renamed Fort St. George.
The fort was later captured by the Portuguese in 1661, and the town
was renamed Panaji. The fort was then renamed Fort St. George.
The fort was captured by the British in 1803, and the town was renamed
Panaji. The fort was then renamed Fort St. George.
The fort was captured by the Portuguese in 1813, and the town was renamed
Panaji. The fort was then renamed Fort St. George.
The fort was captured by the British in 1843, and the town was renamed
Panaji. The fort was then renamed Fort St. George.
The fort was captured by the Portuguese in 1853, and the town was renamed
Panaji. The fort was then renamed Fort St. George.
The fort was captured by the British in 1863, and the town was renamed
Panaji. The fort was then renamed Fort St. George.
The fort was captured by the Portuguese in 1873, and the town was renamed
Panaji. The fort was then renamed Fort St. George.
The fort was captured by the British in 1883, and the town was renamed
Panaji. The fort was then renamed Fort St. George.
The fort was captured by the Portuguese in 1893, and the town was renamed
Panaji. The fort was then renamed Fort St. George.
The fort was captured by the British in 1903, and the town was renamed
Panaji. The fort was then renamed Fort St. George.
The fort was captured by the Portuguese in 1913, and the town was renamed
Panaji. The fort was then renamed Fort St. George.
The fort was captured by the British in 1923, and the town was renamed
Panaji. The fort was then renamed Fort St. George.
The fort was captured by the Portuguese in 1933, and the town was renamed
Panaji. The fort was then renamed Fort St. George.
The fort was captured by the British in 1943, and the town was renamed
Panaji. The fort was then renamed Fort St. George.

in a position to exert considerable influence in regard to appointments that were of interest to him.

There are also ample indications of close ties of friendship between Bernal and Quiroga. There is a letter preserved in the Muñoz Collection in the Royal Academy of History, Madrid, dated April 23, 1553, from Quiroga, now bishop of Michoacán, to Bernal, now bishop of Calahorra. In it Quiroga mentioned the credit which Bernal had frequently given to his letters. Relying on this credit, Quiroga had sent him a treatise on the question of carrying on war with the Indians.³³ Accepting as true for the present Professor Marcel Bataillon's contention that Quiroga's "Información en derecho" of 1555 was directed to Dr. Bernal³⁴--a question to which we shall return later--we find reference in this source also to several letters which Quiroga had addressed to his friend and also to an exchange of ideas which they had once had while traveling with the court from Burgos to Madrid.³⁵ This all points to a close friendship between Bernal and Quiroga, which might well have induced Bernal to use his influence in Quiroga's favor.

The attitude of these two men in regard to the Indians must have been very similar. Guzmán wrote the following of Doctor Bernal: "The said Doctor is so passionate and devoted in the favor of the Indians and in matters which pertain to them that he has an enmity toward those who

³³ Marcel Bataillon, "Vasco de Quiroga et Bartolomé de las Casas," Revista de Historia de América, No. 33 (June, 1952), pp. 84-86.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 87-88.

³⁵ Quiroga, "Información en derecho," p. 299.

20. 1977. 11. 15. 1978. 11. 15.

21. 1977. 11. 15. 1978. 11. 15.

22. 1977. 11. 15. 1978. 11. 15.

23. 1977. 11. 15. 1978. 11. 15.

24. 1977. 11. 15. 1978. 11. 15.

25. 1977. 11. 15. 1978. 11. 15.

26. 1977. 11. 15. 1978. 11. 15.

27. 1977. 11. 15. 1978. 11. 15.

28. 1977. 11. 15. 1978. 11. 15.

29. 1977. 11. 15. 1978. 11. 15.

30. 1977. 11. 15. 1978. 11. 15.

31. 1977. 11. 15. 1978. 11. 15.

32. 1977. 11. 15. 1978. 11. 15.

33. 1977. 11. 15. 1978. 11. 15.

34. 1977. 11. 15. 1978. 11. 15.

say they do not favor them or who enslave them even though it be done justly. . . ." ³⁶ The same words could have been said of Quiroga, as anyone who has read the "Información en derecho" will readily agree.

There are also indications of a rather close tie between Cardinal Tavera and the Quiroga family. In the Archive of the Tavera Hospital in Toledo there are several documents in which reference is made to Rodrigo de Quiroga as the Cardinal's treasurer. The references begin as early as 1532.³⁷ From a small folder of letters in the archive we find that this Rodrigo belonged to the family of Cardinal Gaspar de Quiroga, Vasco's nephew. There are several letters to Rodrigo from Gaspar de Quiroga, then a licenciado, in one of which he signs himself as "your servant and younger brother." There are also letters from Doña María de Quiroga, who was living in Valladolid. She speaks to him of "our sister" and her family, makes several references to Madrigal, in particular to Juan de Quiroga, who was living in Madrigal and taking care of the properties there.³⁸ According to a picus fund which Cardinal Gaspar de Quiroga founded in Madrigal for the benefit of descendants of his family, his brothers and sisters were named--Rodrigo, Juan, Augustina, María, and Constancia.³⁹ The names of Rodrigo and Juan both appear among the confrades

³⁶ AGI, Justicia, leg. 338.

³⁷ Archivo del Hospital Tavera, Toledo, leg. 169.

³⁸ Ibid., leg. 178.

³⁹ Libro de becerros de la iglesia parroquial de San Nicolás de Bari la mayor de esta Villa de Madrigal, hecho en virtud de santa visita, año de 1773, Archivo Parroquial de Madrigal.

de Santiago of Madrigal in 1536.⁴⁰ Another kindness of Cardinal Tavera to the Quiroga family is indicated in a letter of Gaspar to Rodrigo from Valladolid, dated December 20, 1540. Gaspar had received a letter from the Cardinal, providing him with the vicaría of Alcalá. His enthusiastic statement is: "If Álvaro de Quiroga were alive he would not have done more for me. . . . I esteem this more than if he had made me oidor of this audiencia [i.e., of Valladolid]."⁴¹ Did these ties between the Quiroga family and Cardinal Tavera precede or follow upon Vasco de Quiroga's advancement? In other words, were they the cause or the result of his attaining prominence? At the present stage of research it is difficult to answer these questions.

Cristóbal Cabrera gives us an interesting account of Quiroga's appointment as oidor of Mexico. As a young man Cabrera had lived and studied in Bishop Quiroga's residence in Michoacán. The elderly bishop shared with him many intimate details of his life and thought. In 1582 Cabrera, now an old man living in Rome, wrote down his reminiscences of his life with Quiroga, using the bishop as an example of missionary zeal.⁴² Some of the details in Cabrera's story had undoubtedly become confused with the passage of nearly forty years since his departure from Mexico, but his narrative gives us personal views of Quiroga's life not to be found elsewhere.

⁴⁰ Libro de los confrades de Santiago, Archivo Parroquial de Madrigal.

⁴¹ Archivo del Hospital Tavera, Toledo, leg. 178.

⁴² Cabrera, pp. 19, 27.

He states that Quiroga, after gaining royal favor for his work as a judge in Spain and Africa, was uncertain as to how to direct his future. Emperor Charles V, through Cardinal Tavera who had the highest regard for Quiroga, offered him several alternatives--the governorship of a Spanish province, the position of Inquisitor, some office related to the conversion of the Jews, or some high office in New Spain. Quiroga, in a quandary, turned to prayerful meditation for a solution of the problem. Entering a monastery church one day while the monks were reciting their office, he was struck by the words of the psalm: "Offer up the sacrifice of justice and trust in the Lord. Many say, who sheweth us good things?"⁴³ He felt that it was a call for him to offer himself as a sacrifice of justice by accepting an official position for the good of the Indians, who were crying out to God: "Who will show us good things?" Accompanied by Cardinal Tavera, he went to the Emperor and explained his inspiration. The Emperor expressed his happiness at Quiroga's choice, stating that he thought it would be pleasing to God, meritorious for Quiroga, advantageous to the natives, and a source of glory to the crown.⁴⁴

If such an interview between Quiroga and Charles V actually occurred, it must have happened quite some time before the actual reorganization of the Audiencia of Mexico. The Emperor left Spain from Barcelona on July 27, 1529, not to return again until late April of 1533.⁴⁵ The

⁴³ Psalm IV, 6.

⁴⁴ Cabrera, pp. 21-22.

⁴⁵ Foronda y Aguilera, Estancias y viajes del Emperador Carlos V, pp. 327, 374.

first cedulas regarding the appointment of a new audiencia for New Spain were not issued until November 5, 1529,⁴⁶ but it may very well be true that at some time before Charles V's departure they discussed the question of Quiroga's accepting a position in New Spain and decided that he would be given an appointment when the opportunity presented itself.

From Cabrera's words it is evident that Quiroga accepted the position in New Spain in a spirit of dedication. Therefore we do not need to apply to him the somewhat slighting words of a piece of correspondence between the Council of the Indies and the Emperor, dated December 3, 1531. In the course of explaining their selection of Fray Alonso de Talavera, Jeronimite prior of Prado, as both governor and bishop of Honduras, they spoke of the difficulty of finding qualified men for offices in the New World, "seeing that for the Audiencia of Mexico, no man of any quality was found who for 2,000 ducados wished to go to be oidor."⁴⁷

The first official indication that a change was to be made in the government of Mexico was given on November 5, 1529, when identical cedulas were sent from Madrid to the bishop of Badajoz, president of the Chancillería of Valladolid, and to the bishop of Mallorca, president of the Chancillería of Granada, charging them to inform themselves about two people in whom the proper qualifications were to be found, talk with them, and send their opinions to the Empress. They were reminded that

⁴⁶ AGI, México, leg. 1088, T. 1529-1530, ff. 94-94v.

⁴⁷ El consejo de Indias a su Majestad, 3 de diciembre, 1531, AGI, Indiferente General, leg. 737.

these men would be not only judges, as were oidores in Spain, but would be responsible for the government of the land. The annual salary offered was 600,000 maravedís, plus 150,000 maravedís in ayuda de costa, the total equaling 2,000 ducados, which it was thought would enable them not only to live honorably but also to save a good part.⁴⁸

The first official communication with Quiroga was sent from Madrid on December 13, 1529. It is a very brief letter from the Empress which stated: "Licenciado Quiroga: because your person is necessary to attend to some matters of our service, I command you that as soon as you receive this you shall set out and come to me, and shortly you will be sent out."⁴⁹ This gives support to the idea that there was already an understanding with Quiroga beforehand.

Another cedula was sent to Quiroga from Madrid on January 2, 1530. In it the Empress expressly stated that he had been chosen as one of the oidores for the Audiencia of Mexico and he was again asked to come immediately so that he might soon be sent out. Over and above his salary he was promised the rewards that his services might merit. Similar cedulas were sent the same day to Licenciado Alonso Maldonado, colegial del colegio de Salamanca, and to a Licenciado de Cáceres.⁵⁰ The latter apparently did not accept, for he did not become one of the oidores.

Accompanying the cedula to Quiroga of January 2, 1530, was a letter of Juan de Sámano, royal secretary, in which he explained the

⁴⁸ AGI, México, leg. 1088, T. 1529-1530, ff. 94-94v.

⁴⁹ Ibid., f. 125v.

⁵⁰ Ibid., f. 145.

matter of salary. Quiroga would begin to receive his annual salary of 750,000 maravedís upon setting sail from Seville or Sanlucar, but would be given 400 ducados (150,000 maravedís) of salary in advance to prepare himself for the trip. He was told that he was not to enter into any other gainful work but was to devote his whole time to the audiencia.⁵¹ In the cedula of January 2, 1530, Quiroga was addressed with the title "nuestro juez de comisión."⁵² The cedula and the letter of Juan de Sámano were carried to Quiroga by a courier, but there is no indication of his destination.⁵³ In a cedula of March 11, 1530, concerning the accounts of Juan de Sámano, there is an entry apparently from early 1530 which indicates that he paid four ducados to a peón who went to Murcia to Licenciado Quiroga.⁵⁴ It seems, therefore, that Quiroga must have been carrying out some commission of the crown in Murcia, perhaps another work similar to what he had done in Oran.

Although the cedula to the bishops of Badajoz and Mallorca had said that the new audiencia was to embark in January 1530,⁵⁵ the delay in finding men to fill the positions prevented them from leaving Spain that soon. The cedulas of appointment were made out only on April 5, 1530. By this time the complete audiencia had been assembled, with all the

⁵¹ Quiroga vs. Martín Cortés, ff. 18-18v. Printed defectively in León, Quiroga, p. 172.

⁵² AGI, México, leg. 1088, T. 1529-1530, f. 145.

⁵³ Quiroga vs. Martín Cortés, f. 18.

⁵⁴ AGI, Indiferente General, leg. 422, T. 1529-1530, f. 55v.

⁵⁵ AGI, México, leg. 1088, T. 1529-1530, ff. 94-94v.

members who would eventually set out for New Spain. In the official registro the cedula for Quiroga is written out in full, with a notation following it to indicate that cedulas of the same tenor were made out for the other three oidores: Alonso Maldonado, Francisco de Ceinos, and Juan de Salmerón.⁵⁶ Another cedula of the same date was made out for each of the oidores, directed to the oficiales of the Casa de la Contratación in Sevilla, instructing the officials to give the oidores the 150,000 maravedís in advanced salary that they were to use in preparing for their trip.⁵⁷ A third cedula of the same date commanded the treasury officials of New Spain to include in the account of the salary of each oidor the added 150,000 maravedís which they were to be given annually as *ayuda de costa*.⁵⁸

Now for a moment, before sending Quiroga off to the New World, we will try to get a glimpse of his character. To do this we will have to anticipate later documentation, as most of the personal information that we have concerning him comes from the period of his work in the New World. The traditional image of Quiroga is that of a very fatherly and saintly man, a man with a far-reaching love for the poor and oppressed, the miserable and defenseless. This image can be verified from his written works (e.g., the "Información en derecho," the "Reglas y ordenanzas para los hospitales de Santa Fe," the "Testamento") as well as from the

⁵⁶ Ibid., ff. 223-226.

⁵⁷ Ibid., ff. 226-226v.

⁵⁸ Ibid., ff. 227-227v.

actual works of charity for which his name is remembered. It is also verified by the word of Cristóbal Cabrera, who knew him very personally and saw him treat with the Indians as a tender father.⁵⁹

His sanctity was attested in 1536 by Don Manuel Flores, dean of the cathedral church of Mexico City, who stated that after much conversation with Licenciado Quiroga he believed by God and his conscience that Quiroga had never knowingly done an act that would constitute a mortal sin and that no friar of the land outdid him in living religiously.⁶⁰ This characteristic, however, did not appeal equally to all. In the opinion of the conquistador, Bernaldino Vázquez de Tapia, Quiroga was more fit to be a friar than an oidor and judge.⁶¹

Quiroga tended to be rather severe with those who were pressing claims before him. Licenciado Cristóbal Benavente, fiscal of the audiencia, asserted in 1545 that he had seen Quiroga deal severely with litigants, sometimes justly, sometimes not.⁶² Francisco de Lerma, procurador of the audiencia, testified in 1536 that Quiroga had sent ex-oidor Juan Ortiz de Matienzo to prison because of an altercation that had arisen in the course of a law suit.⁶³ The cabildo of Mexico City determined, on April 29, 1534, to make an official complaint before the audiencia because of the high-handed way in which Quiroga had treated

⁵⁹ Cabrera, pp. 22-23.

⁶⁰ Aguayo Spencer, p. 432.

⁶¹ RSA, f. 237v.

⁶² AGI, Justicia, leg. 258.

⁶³ RSA, f. 213v.

them on the previous day when they were presenting a petition.⁶⁴

Like most idealists Quiroga had a strong conviction of the validity of his own ideas. In speaking of his idea that the organization of More's Utopia should be made the form for reorganizing the whole Indian life of the New World, he wrote that "perchance none other [remedy] will be found so quickly which will be so sufficient or so necessary or so universal or so easy for these natives, taking into account the quality and manner of the land and of the natives of this entirely new world, or so well applied for everything necessary. . . ."⁶⁵ In his will, speaking of his pueblos de Santa Fe, he said: "With difficulty will one be able to find in these parts another thing better or more pious or more necessary in which almost all possible types of hospitality come together as they do in this. . . ."⁶⁶ It was undoubtedly this conviction of his own rightness that led him into the plethora of lawsuits which characterized his whole life as a bishop.

His studiousness is a trait that we mentioned above. It is indicated by the library of 626 books that he had at the time of his death.⁶⁷ Cabrera gives us a picture of Quiroga laboring studiously over his books long past midnight, sending his young companion to sleep while

⁶⁴ AC, III, 81.

⁶⁵ Quiroga, "Información," p. 302.

⁶⁶ Quiroga, "Testamento," p. 282.

⁶⁷ León, Quiroga, p. 104.

he himself took only the briefest rest at the approach of dawn.⁶⁸

Having taken this brief glimpse of Quiroga's personality, we will follow him across the Atlantic to his labors in New Spain.

⁶⁸ Cabrera, pp. 26-27.

CHAPTER III

THE IDEA OF THE PUEBLOS DE SANTA FE

The members of the Second Audiencia set sail from Sevilla on August 25, 1530.¹ Their route took them by way of Santo Domingo where Quiroga conferred with Bishop Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal, president of the audiencia of Santo Domingo, who had been commissioned to preside over the new audiencia in Mexico.² Possibly this was a renewal of acquaintance, since Ramírez had previously been an oidor of the audiencia of Granada, which had jurisdiction over Oran.³

By December 16, 1530, Licenciados Ceinos and Salmerón had arrived in Veracruz, ahead of their two companions.⁴ On December 30, 1530, the cabildo of Mexico City was informed that Licenciados Quiroga and Maldonado had arrived in Veracruz, and Francisco de Santacruz and Francisco Flores were dispatched to meet them with a letter from the city.⁵ Excitement in the city was running high with the anticipated arrival of the full audiencia. Licenciados Salmerón and Ceinos, who had preceded

¹ Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, eds. Rafael Aguayo Spencer and Antonio Castro Leal (4 vols., México, 1947), I, 95.

² Carta al Consejo de Indias del Licenciado Quiroga, México, 14 de agosto de 1531, DIII, XIII, 421.

³ AGS, Estado-Castilla, leg. 14.

⁴ AC, II, 72.

⁵ Ibid., II, 74.

their companions to the capital, were requested by the cabildo on January 4, 1531, to prepare the city for the arrival of the other two, and the cabildo also commanded the citizenry to prepare to go out to meet the two remaining oidores.⁶ Finally, on January 9, 1531, Quiroga and Maldonado were ready to enter the city. The cabildo decreed under penalty of five pesos that all who had horses or mules should ride out to meet the incoming oidores.⁷

The enthusiasm of the welcome given to the new oidores was due in no small extent to the number of problems that were awaiting their attention. Disputes over encomiendas, injustices of the First Audiencia, bitter differences between the colonists and the friars, maltreatment and enslavement of the Indians--these and many other difficulties faced the new governing body, calling for immediate action. A problem that seems to have attracted Quiroga's attention almost immediately was that of the reorganization of Indian society.

The Spanish conquest had disrupted to a serious extent the native way of life. The new Spanish lords of the land brought a different system of government, unfamiliar laws and social customs, entirely distinct attitudes on many aspects of life, and a new religion. They had also taken off many of the able-bodied Indians to fight in their wars, carry their supplies, or work in their mines. Sometimes the men returned, sometimes not. This left many women, children, and physically incapacitated people to fend for themselves, surrounded by people who were only

⁶ Ibid., II, 77.

⁷ Ibid., II, 78.

too willing to take advantage of them, and lacking any organized form of social aid. Quiroga found many children running through the streets and market places, looking for food in what was left by the pigs and dogs.⁸

Another fact that troubled Quiroga was the scattered nature of Indian settlement. The licenciado came from one of the most highly urbanized countries of Europe. Anyone who travels through Spain must be struck by the fact that the countryside is almost devoid of dwellings. Early in the morning the roads are filled with carts and bicycles, teams and flocks of those who go out from the villages and towns to care for the surrounding fields. With the approach of dark they once more return to their pueblos to spend the night close to their family and friends and near the protective authority of Church and State. This way of life is of very ancient origin in Spain. It goes back at least to the period of Roman control, when the civitas was the unit of local administration. This tradition survived the Visigothic and Moorish invasions and became a necessary means of survival during the years of the Reconquest, when the isolated farmer was prey to every marauding band. Spanish concepts of law and government were built up largely upon the municipality as the basic administrative unit.⁹ The Spaniard, then, when he came to the New World could not approach the Indian in the same way the Englishman or Frenchman could. The Northern Europeans could adjust much more easily

⁸ Quiroga al Consejo, 14 de agosto, 1531, DII, XIII, 424.

⁹ Clarence H. Haring, The Spanish Empire in America (New York, 1947), pp. 158-159.

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than the Spaniard to life in an isolated frontier cabin or to traveling and trading in the midst of the Indians themselves. The tendency of the Spaniard was rather to gather the Indians into settlements where they could be controlled, instructed, and put to useful work. Such settlements also fitted much more easily into the system of Spanish government.

Quiroga, who was a product of the Spanish municipal system and an expert in its laws, felt a need for congregating the Indians so as to impart to them that all-inclusive concept of civilized life which the Spanish called policía. He also desired to instill in them some of his own vibrant Catholic faith. This enthusiasm for spreading the faith, which was to be found even among the rough conquistadores, was especially strong in this man of far more delicate ideals and deeper education. He saw that the Indians, scattered through the countryside, each with his own little hut surrounded by a patch of maize, could easily practice idolatry and ritual drunkenness without being detected. If they were gathered into towns where they could be watched over and instructed by a small number of friars, their introduction to Catholicism would be greatly facilitated.¹⁰

These three necessities--to care for the needy, to train the natives in a civilized way of life, and to instruct pagans in the Catholic faith--were the motives that led Quiroga to found his pueblo-hospitals of Santa Fe. We find them all present in the letter he wrote to the Council of the Indies on August 14, 1531. It was written to accompany

¹⁰ Quiroga al Consejo, 1531, DII, XIII, 422-423.

a general letter sent by the four oidores of Mexico to the Council. Quiroga wished to expand on certain ideas, particularly the need that the president of the audiencia should come from Santo Domingo to join his colleagues as soon as possible, and the necessity of organizing the Indians into towns. During the seven months that he had spent in Mexico, Quiroga had seen the poverty and squalor to which the orphans and other unfortunates were reduced. A serious problem was also presenting itself in regard to the Indian boys who had been raised in the monasteries of the friars. Some of these children were already of marriageable age and the friars tried to arrange marriages for them. These boys knew not only how to be good Christians but how to read and write in their own language, in Spanish, and in Latin, how to sing chant, plain or with an organ, how to transcribe books of chant, and some could even preach. But if they were to return to their own people, like a dog returning to his vomit,¹¹ they would fall back into the idolatry and vicious habits of their relatives. On the other hand, the boys who were truly orphans had no land on which to plant crops nor any means of support. For the friars this was a constant source of worry and they had asked the oidores for a solution. Quiroga's proposal was that new pueblos be founded in the unused common lands of each of the old pueblos and that they be made up of the boys who had been trained by the friars. Two, three, or four friars would be placed in charge of them to watch over them closely until virtue should become second nature to them. This would not only salvage the training of the friars from being lost but would also bring

¹¹Quiroga here quotes freely II Peter 2:22.

profit from the unused common lands. The establishment of these pueblos would also bring some order into the chaos and confusion of Indian life because, as Quiroga saw it, no one could understand their life nor could they be set in good political order nor impeded in their drunken sprees, idolatries and other evil rites and customs unless they were reduced to pueblos, well organized and regulated.

Quiroga found much to admire in the Indians. He was attracted by their natural, simple virtues--their humility, obedience, poverty, contempt of the world, and lack of interest in clothing. To his mind they were like the Apostles, going about barefooted, with long hair, and without any covering for the head. In fine, they were like a tabula rasa and like very soft wax that was ready to receive any impression. Quiroga maintained that through congregation into pueblos the Indians could be shaped into a new and strong type of Christians, like those of the primitive Church.

Quiroga proposed that the churches and buildings of the new pueblos should be built by the Indians of the area, since it was for the good of the Indians themselves and of their relatives and descendants. For the Spaniards the institution of the pueblos would be a work of satisfaction of conscience, since it was because of their wars and their severity toward the Indians in the mines that the Indian children were left without the care of their fathers.¹²

This letter of Quiroga's contains all characteristic ideas that motivated him in the formation of his pueblos de Santa Fe. Yet it does

¹² Quiroga al Consejo, 1531, DII, XIII, 421-424, 429.

not show any specific influence of the thought of St. Thomas More, which was to give the pueblos their peculiar form. As early as June 1533, however, the influence of More is evident in the name which is given to the building which he had erected sometime previously in the village of Santa Fe near Mexico City. On June 30, 1533, a complaint was made in the cabildo of México by Jerónimo López concerning Quiroga's project. He stated that it was already many days since Quiroga had started his work of construction and that he began it under the pretense of building one house which would be called a paterfamilias.¹³ This term is undoubtedly the same as the expression familia which Quiroga used for the large housing complexes which were to be home for an extended family, a term which he derived from More's Utopia.¹⁴

We do not know when Quiroga first came into contact with More's Utopia, although it appears to have been after he came to the New World. The Library of the University of Texas has a copy of the Utopia which once belonged to Bishop Juan de Zumárraga. The marginal notations are of the type that we would expect Quiroga to have made, remarks pertaining mainly to the organizational aspects of Utopian society. But the handwriting, although similar to Quiroga's in many ways, shows some marked differences from Quiroga's other autographs.¹⁵

The earliest of Quiroga's writings which speaks explicitly of his admiration for the work of the English chancellor is the "Información

¹³ AC, III, 41.

¹⁴ Quiroga, "Ordenanzas," p. 258.

¹⁵ More, Utopia (Latin), University of Texas Library, G093.M813.

en derecho" of July 24, 1535. The origin of this treatise goes back to the instructions which the Second Audiencia carried to New Spain. In these instructions, dated in Madrid, July 12, 1530, the crown had forbidden entirely the making of new Indian slaves whether by war or by purchase.¹⁶ The instructions were accompanied by a cedula, dated August 2, 1530, which enforced the paragraph of the instructions relative to the enslavement of Indians. This cedula first gives a brief summary of the previous attitude of the crown regarding enslavement of Indians, allowing slaves to be taken in war or bought from other Indians. But, the cedula continues, this permission had been abused due to the unbridled greed of the conquerors and settlers, who caused unjust wars in order to enslave the Indians. The cedula then revoked all past, present, and future permissions to make Indian slaves, either by war or by purchase, under pain of complete loss of goods by those who captured or possessed the slaves and the return of the slaves to their homeland at the cost of the person who captured or possessed them. Within thirty days after the publication of the cedula in each jurisdiction the conquerors and settlers were to register their slaves by name in a book kept by the local official of justice, and in the future no more Indians should be enslaved.¹⁷

This regulation, as was to be expected, raised a storm of protest from the colonists, who depended on slaves to work their mines and carry out other difficult forms of labor. Appeals were made to the crown and council, and on February 20, 1534, the crown reversed its previous

¹⁶ Puga, I, 163-164.

¹⁷ Ibid., I, 231-234.

decision. The excuses given for this change were that the Indians were becoming uncontrollable, seeing that their rebellions could no longer be punished by enslavement, and, on the other hand, the colonists no longer had any motivation for participating in a just war. Moreover, in regard to purchased slaves (esclavos de rescate), the cedula maintained that they would be more easily withdrawn from idolatry if they were taken from the control of their native owners and that the Christians would be given support in the land. Under certain limitations the colonists were in the future to be allowed both to make slaves in just war and to purchase slaves owned by other Indians.¹⁸

The audiencia in Mexico had already enthusiastically committed itself to the execution of its instructions and of the cedula of 1530. It now found that it would be obliged to reverse completely its policy on slavery. The oidores protested against the new provision, writing to the Council as a group and individually.¹⁹ Quiroga, in particular, undertook a lengthy refutation of the reasoning behind the new cedula. This complex and difficult piece of writing, his "Información en derecho," was dated in Mexico on July 24, 1535, although its composition must have taken a considerable length of time. The printed editions of the work make it appear to be directed to the King, since it begins with: "Por las cartas que a vuestra Majestad escribí. . . ." A consultation of the original manuscript, however, shows that the "vuestra Majestad" should be "vuestra

¹⁸ Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones de Ultramar (25 vols., Madrid, 1885-1928), X, 192, et seq.

¹⁹ Quiroga, "Información en derecho," p. 291.

merced."²⁰ The fact that it was directed to someone other than the king is also indicated in another place by the phrase: "su Majestad por sus provisiones y vuestra merced por sus cartas." Moreover, the salutation at the beginning, "Muy magnífico señor," is not such as would be used for the king but for some high royal official.²¹ The person to whom the work is addressed was undoubtedly a member of the Council of the Indies, for it is written throughout as to one who would be directly involved in the decisions regarding the Indies. It seems highly probable, then, following the opinion of Professor Marcel Bataillon, that the work was directed to Quiroga's friend on the Council, Doctor Bernal.²²

Here we do not need to study extensively Quiroga's opinions on Indian slavery. It is sufficient to say in summary that he believed the Indians had no true slaves in the European sense of chattel slavery. The prisoners whom they took in war were all sacrificed and therefore never became chattels. The people who sold themselves into slavery in times of necessity did not become a kind of human property as did a slave in Europe; rather it was a type of perpetual hiring of oneself, leaving the

²⁰ Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 7369. The error as to the recipient of the work was promoted by the title given to the manuscript: "Representación a Carlos V sobre la provisión que el Consejo de Indias despachó para que se pudiesen vender y herrar los Indios." The confusion was increased by the title given the first printed edition in DII, X, 333-513: "Información en derecho de licenciado Rojas sobre algunas provisiones del Real Consejo de Indias." This mistake as to authorship, which was corrected in the index of the volume, was due to the fact that at the conclusion of his work, Quiroga appended a parecer of Maestro Rojas and commented on it.

²¹ Quiroga, "Información en derecho," pp. 295, 291.

²² Marcel Bataillon, "Vasco de Quiroga et Bartolomé de las Casas," Revista de Historia de America, No. 33 (June, 1952), pp. 87-89.

person free to use his own property, have his own home and family, and raise free children. Quiroga attributed this form of contract to the fact that the Indians did not have an idea of temporary hiring of labor. He had gleaned this knowledge from several years of working with problems of Indian slavery with the assistance of four native elders who advised him regarding their customs and laws. His conclusion was that it was unjust to allow the Spaniards to purchase Indian slaves from Indian owners since it changed the type of slavery from a perpetual hiring to chattel slavery.²³

What is of greater interest to us here is the revelation that this work gives us of certain influences on Quiroga's thinking. One of these was that of Lucian's Saturnalia which he had happened upon by chance as he was writing.²⁴ Some writers have considered the influence of the Greek author to have been profound upon Quiroga. For instance, Raúl Villaseñor lists Lucian among those who influenced in a most decisive manner the institution of Quiroga's hospitals.²⁵ This, however, seems to be an exaggerated view. Although Lucian's picture of life in the Golden Age gave Quiroga a frame of reference in which to speak of the simplicity of the Indians, it did not substantially change his views from those he had expressed in his letter of August 14, 1531. There is no evidence of any influence of the Saturnalia on the structure or organization of the

²³ Quiroga, "Información en derecho," passim.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 281.

²⁵ Raúl Villaseñor, "Luciano, Moro, y el utopismo de Vasco de Quiroga," Cuadernos Americanos, vol. 68 (March-April, 1953), pp. 155-175.

pueblos de Santa Fe.

Because of some expressions that Quiroga used in regard to the humble and simple virtues of the Indians, particularly under the influence of the Saturnalia, it has been said that he is a forerunner of the romantic view of the noble savage. Thus, Silvio Zavala lists Quiroga among the Spanish humanists who saw the Noble Savage in the Indians of the New World.²⁶ This thought, however, can be accepted only with certain definite limitations. Although Quiroga admired the virtues of the humble Indians, he never approached the Rousseauan attitude that the savage is better off than the civilized man. Quiroga could see the faults of the savage as well as his good points. In one place he spoke of the Indians as "a barbarous people who . . . live scattered through the fields like animals without good policía and for this reason they grow up bad, fierce, bestial and cruel, prejudicial, inhuman and ignorant, and tyrannical even among themselves."²⁷ His constant contention was that only by a well ordered republic and policía could they be saved from their natural vices. So, while Rousseau would maintain that the good savage was ruined by society, Quiroga held that the basically good nature of the savage could be saved from savagery only if he were incorporated into a stable society and shaped by it.

This need for introducing the natives to policía was what centered Quiroga's attention on Thomas More's Utopia. Quiroga had tried to work

²⁶ Silvio Zavala, Sir Thomas More in New Spain (London, 1955), p. 9.

²⁷ Quiroga, "Información en derecho," p. 308.

for several years with the patchwork of laws that had been developed for the Indies. He complained that the complexities of Spanish law were not suited to the mentality of the Indian because in this truly new world matters must be ordained in a new way according to the "quality and condition of the land and the manner, and condition, and good habits, and inclinations, and uses, and customs of the natives," varying the law according to the needs of the various areas, and not acting like an ignorant doctor who prescribes the same remedy for every disease or applies prescriptions as he pulls them blindly from a pitcher.²⁸ In another place, speaking of Spanish colonial law, he characterized it as these pieces and patches of laws and ordinances, which in making ordinances never succeed in setting anything sufficiently in order; rather in patching one hole they make a hundred, and in stopping one leak they make four, and because they do not find the road once and become lost, they go around and walk over it many times and never finish walking nor arrive at the inn and repose which they seek; and in cutting off one troublesome thing, seven or a hundred are born, like the heads of Hydra. . . . In such a failure and disorder, I see only one remedy, which is to cease to patch and walk about begging for alms, and to commence, on the royal road and with raised sail, to remake the thing anew.²⁹

Previously Quiroga had proposed a method of remaking the whole system of government of the Indians. In his "Información en derecho" he refers to a parecer which he had sent to the Council at an earlier date concerning the ways in which the government of the natives should be reorganized. This parecer has not yet come to light. Zavala thinks that it must have been one that was sent to Spain together with pareceres

²⁸ Ibid., p. 311.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 371

of the other oidores and of some friars in November, 1532. These were results of discussions held in Mexico in the summer of 1532 regarding the best way of populating and perpetuating the land.³⁰ But Quiroga gives us no idea as to the date of the parecer to which he refers in the "Información en derecho," and so it is possible that the parecer of 1532 is not the same. Be that as it may, no such document from Quiroga's hand has been found.

In the course of his "Información," however, he found it necessary to defend the ideas of his parecer and in so doing he gives us a summary of its contents and an explanation of its origin. He had presented a plan for a republic which could be extended to include the whole Indian population of the New World. He explains that his plan had been taken from the form of republic presented in More's work as though from a pattern. He expresses intense admiration for More, whom he considers almost inspired by the Holy Spirit, because he was able to describe the state of the Indians and present a plan of republic so suited to their needs, without ever having seen them.³¹

Quiroga's description of the political structure of his proposed city corresponds closely to that of the Utopia but with a change of titles and certain additional officials to draw the whole framework into the Spanish system.³² As in Utopia the basic unit would be the familia, or

³⁰ Silvio Zavala, Ideario de Vasco de Quiroga (México, 1941), pp. 46-48.

³¹ Quiroga, "Información en derecho," p. 397.

³² Ibid., p. 391.

extended family, consisting of ten to sixteen married couples of one lineage. Each familia would have its padre y madre de familia as the responsible authorities within the familia, whom all the members of the familia would respect and obey. The city would be composed of six thousand of these familias and would, therefore, consist of at least sixty thousand vecinos, or adult males.³³ Over every thirty families there would be a jurado as the responsible authority in his juradería or parroquia. This corresponds to the office of sypagrant in the Utopia.³⁴ Above the jurados would be the regidores, one for every four jurados; Utopia has a tranibore, or philarch, over every ten sypogrants.³⁵ At the top of the native hierarchy of rulers in Quiroga's city, there would be two alcaldes ordinarios and a tacatecle. The alcaldes ordinarios represented an introduction from Spanish law; the office of tacatecle (a Nahuatl term) was probably the equivalent of the Utopian prince.³⁶ All of the officials mentioned above were to be Indians, elected according to the method set out in Quiroga's parecer. A Spaniard would serve as alcalde mayor or corregidor over the whole city and receive his position from the Spanish king and the Real Audiencia in the king's name. The supreme authority over the Utopian-style cities should be the audiencia in matters temporal. Quiroga thought that this form of organization would also make for better religious care of the Indians,

³³Cf. More, Utopia (English), p. 86.

³⁴Ibid., p. 76.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

since two friars could work more effectively with such a concentrated group than could a hundred among the scattered huts.

To accompany his "Información en derecho" Quiroga sent a Spanish version of a part or a summary (preámbulo y razonamiento) of More's Utopia which he had translated from Latin.³⁷ This piece, however, is no longer with the "Información" and has not been found. The *parecer* and the translation of the Utopia must have represented the high point of More's influence on Quiroga. It is unfortunate that both have disappeared.

By the time Quiroga came to write the Ordinances for the pueblo-hospitals of Santa Fe the influence of More had been tempered to some extent by experience, by the introduction of many specifically Christian elements, and by the fact that his towns had never grown to a size which justified the complicated governing body of his *parecer*. Yet, the influence of the Utopia is still strongly present, as is very evident to anyone who compares the two works carefully. The Ordinances were first published by Don Juan José Moreno in the eighteenth century from an incomplete copy that he found in the archive of the cathedral chapter of Michoacán. The copy was lacking both the beginning and the end.³⁸ No other copy has ever been found.

As we have them now, the Ordinances originate from sometime between mid-1554 and January 24, 1565. In the course of the Ordinances

³⁷"*Información en derecho*," pp. 396-397.

³⁸Aguayo Spencer, Documentos, pp. 247-248.

Quiroga referred to the "Doctrina Cristiana" approved by His Holiness the Pope, which he was leaving in print for the instruction of the Indians of Santa Fe. But the printing of this work, done by Quiroga's request in Seville, was completed on October 21, 1553.³⁹ Further, since Quiroga speaks in the Ordinances of "this hospital and college of Santa Fe of the Province of Mexico" and "that of the Province of Michoacán," he was apparently living in the pueblo near Mexico City at the time of the composition.⁴⁰ This would place the date sometime after mid-1554 when he returned from a lengthy sojourn in Spain.⁴¹ The Ordinances were completed before January 24, 1565, since Quiroga mentioned them in his will of that date.⁴² Undoubtedly a set of ordinances for the pueblos existed before 1554 and the set that we have now represents Quiroga's final revision. The order and arrangement within the work is poor, with related materials in entirely separate places. It gives the appearance of growth by accretion over the course of time. In presenting the summary which follows, an attempt has been made to draw together those ordinances that are related. Citations for comparison with the Utopia will generally be to the Cambridge University edition of Robynson's translation but, when an actual comparison between the texts is made, it will be between the Spanish text of the Ordinances and the Latin text of the Utopia.

³⁹ Nicolás León, El Libro de Doctrina Christiana (México, 1928), p. 3.

⁴⁰ Quiroga, "Ordenanzas," p. 265.

⁴¹ León, Quiroga (México, 1903), p. 54.

⁴² Quiroga, "Testamento," p. 286.

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Political Structure. The basic political unit of the society is to be the *familia* which is to be composed of members of one lineage in the masculine line, up to ten or twelve couples in each *familia*.⁴³ Each *familia* is subject to its padre de familia. The *pueblo* is to be governed by a body composed of a *principal*, *regidores* and *jurados*. One *principal*, or two if necessary, is to be elected by the *padres de familia*. After attending the Mass of the Holy Spirit, they are to elect him from among four who were chosen from among themselves by the poor of the *pueblo*, either divided into four groups or acting as a unit. His term of office is to be for three or six years, but he can be re-elected for a longer time. He can be removed and another put in his place with the permission of the *rector*.⁴⁴ The *principal* is to be a good Christian and a man of exemplary life, meek and not too severe, attracting the love and honor of all but not allowing himself to be despised. His duty is to notify the *rector* of what goes on and what is necessary in the *pueblo*.

The *regidores*, three or four in number, are to be chosen annually by the *padres de familia*. The office is to be given in turn to all the able married men.⁴⁵ Two *padres de familia*, chosen by the *principal* and *regidores*, are to assist at the meetings of the *principal* and *regidores*

⁴³Cf. More, Utopia (English), p. 86. The Utopian family was to consist of not less than ten nor more than sixteen children of fourteen years or older.

⁴⁴Cf. ibid., p. 76. The Utopian prince was elected by the siphogrants for life from among four chosen by the four quarters of the city. He could be deposed for suspicion of tyranny.

⁴⁵The philarchs, or *tranibores*, of Utopia were elected annually but not changed without reason. Ibid., p. 76.

to protect the interests of the poor of the pueblo, and not the same ones every day but by turns.⁴⁶ Above this council and vested with the ultimate authority in the pueblo, is the rector. From Quiroga's will we know that this official was to be a priest devoted to the aims of the hospital with an adequate knowledge of the Indian languages of the area, appointed every three years by Quiroga himself or, after his death, by the rector of the College of San Nicolás in Michoacán with the approval of the dean and cabildo of the cathedral of Michoacán.⁴⁷

The meetings of the governing body of the pueblo are to be held every third day, or more often if necessary, in the familia of the principal. They are to discuss matters pertaining to the hospital, estancias, boundaries, and common works in conformity with the Ordinances and in agreement with the rector. Unless a decision is pressing, it is not to be made at the first meeting at which it is discussed but is to be reconsidered at one or two other meetings before being put to a vote.⁴⁸ After reaching a decision on anything of importance they are to give a

⁴⁶ Cf. ibid., p. 77. Two syphegrants attended the council of the tranibores and the prince, every day a different pair.

⁴⁷ Quiroga, "Testamento," p. 280.

⁴⁸ Cf. Utopia (English), p. 77. Here is an example of close dependence of texts. More: "Tranibori tertio quoque die, interdum si res postulat, saepius in consilium cum principe veniunt . . . Syphograntes semper in senatum duos adsciscunt atque omni die diversos, cautumque ut ne quid ratum sit quod ad rempub[licam] pertineat de quo non tribus in senatu diebus ante agitatum quam decretum sit." Utopia (Latin), p. 78. Quiroga: "Se junten cada tercero dia, y más días si así necesario fuere, tomando consigo dos de los padres de familias en lugar de jurados . . . y no cada día unos sino interpolados. . . . no lo determinen luego al primer ayuntamiento hasta que en otro o otro dos lo hayan bien entre sí tratado y discutido." Quiroga, "Ordenanzas," pp. 259, 261.

report on it to the rector. The object of delaying the vote was to give time for deliberation and to make sure that no one would become more determined in defending his vote than in looking for the good of the hospital.

Other duties of the governing body are to visit the boundaries of the pueblo once a year and renew the markers if necessary according to the document of the boundaries. They are also to have a chest in which the documents of the pueblo are kept. Complaints of Indians against one another are to be settled amicably before the rector and regidores without recourse to the courts so as to save expenses, avoid imprisonment, and preserve mutual charity.⁴⁹

Another official of the pueblo is the yeedor general, or overseer, of the farms. His office puts him in charge of all the farms and ranches. It is his duty to visit the farms regularly and to report on them to the rector, principal and regidores. He is allowed to live in his own familia in the hospital, going out during the day to make his rounds of the farms and ranches.⁵⁰

Social Life. The familia was also the unit upon which the social life of the pueblo was built. Parents are to see to the marriages of their sons with the daughters of other familias of the hospital, or, if they are lacking, with daughters of poor people of the neighborhood.

⁴⁹Cf. More, Utopia (English), p. 77. In Utopia the controversies among the commoners, which were few, were settled before the city council.

⁵⁰In Utopia every thirty farms were subject to one head ruler, called a philarch. Ibid., p. 70.

Boys are considered marriageable at fourteen, girls at twelve.⁵¹ They are to be married publicly according to the order of Holy Mother Church and with the consent of their parents and familia. The wives must go to live in the familia of their husbands.⁵² Each familia is to have eight, ten, or twelve couples. When a familia becomes overcrowded they are to form a new one.⁵³

All the members of a familia are to obey the oldest grandfather of the familia; wives their husbands; children their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents. This will take away the need for servants, who disturb social tranquility.⁵⁴ The padres and madres de familia are to report to the rector and regidores the excesses and disorders of

⁵¹ Here Quiroga makes a considerable departure from the Utopia, undoubtedly because of the marriage customs of the Indians. In Utopia girls were not to marry before they were eighteen, nor boys before they were twenty-two. Ibid., p. 123. Robynson's translation purged a page and a half of More's original in which he described the carefully supervised physical inspection of the spouses by one another before marriage lest they be deceived by some hidden deformity (More, Utopia [Latin], pp. 120-122). Of course, neither this nor the Utopian customs regarding divorce (More, Utopia [English], pp. 123-124) found any place in Quiroga's "Ordinances."

⁵² "For the women, when they be maryed at a lawefull age, they goo into theire husbandes houses." More, Utopia (English), p. 86.

⁵³ The families in Utopia were to have not less than ten nor more than sixteen children over fourteen years of age. The excess from the larger families were put into the smaller ones. Ibid.

⁵⁴ Here is another close textual dependence. "Antiquissimus (ut dixi) praeest familias. Ministri sunt uxores maritis et liberi parentibus, atque in summa minores natu maioribus. [And printed in margin] Sic excludi potest otiosa turba ministrorum." More, Utopia (Latin), p. 87. "El más antiguo abuelo será él que en ella presida . . . y las mujeres sirvan a sus maridos, y los descendientes a los ascendientes . . . y en fin, los de menos edad y los más mozos, a los más viejos, porque así se puede excusar mucho de criados y criadas y otros servidores. . . ." Quiroga, "Ordenanzas," p. 254.

the "right" to work, or profit from their labor, and thus
to contribute to the welfare and continuation of society at large.
The people who did not have the right to work did not fit into
this social system. They were not part of the community, and
thus had no place to live. They were seen as a threat to
the rest of society, and were often persecuted.

There was also a belief that the poor were a threat to the

rest of society, because they did not have the right to work and did not contribute to the economy. This belief was widespread, and many people believed that the poor were a threat to the rest of society, and that they should be punished for their lack of work and contribution to the economy.

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the children as well as their own responsibility or negligence in such matters. If such things happen through the inability or negligence of the padres de familia, others are to be elected with the advice of the rector and regidores.⁵⁵

When the members of a family go to work in the fields, they are to go with the padre de familia, who is to oversee the work and report negligences. The padres themselves are exempted from work but are encouraged to lend a hand for the sake of example, especially at the beginning.⁵⁶

For the sake of recreation one or more of the poor people of the hospital may, with the permission of the rector, principal, and regidores, go to the farms or ranches for a while, where they shall help out if they are well and shall be fed as long as their permission lasts.⁵⁷

In regard to vesture they are to maintain uniformity in so far as possible. The clothing is to be of cotton or wool in their natural color, white, clean and modest, without decoration and other costly and curious work, and they shall be made in the familias. They are to be such as to protect from both cold and heat. The people may have two

⁵⁵ In Utopia, when the oldest father became incapacitated by age, he was replaced by the next in age. More, Utopia (English), p. 86.

⁵⁶ The siphogrants of Utopia were exempt from work by law, but in order to attract others to work by their example, they did not take advantage of this exemption. Ibid., pp. 82-83.

⁵⁷ The Utopians were allowed to go from their own city to visit another, but only with permission of the magistrates. If they stayed longer than a day in any place, they worked at their crafts and were provided with everything they needed. Ibid., pp. 93-94.

Dear Dr. Giddings & Mr. H. C. Bowen, my thanks for your very kind letter and for the copy of the "American Journal of Science" which you sent me. I have been very anxious to get a copy of that journal ever since I first heard of it, and I am very glad to have it now. It is a very interesting journal, and I hope you will continue to publish it.

I am sending you a copy of the "American Journal of Science" which I have just received. It is a very good journal, and I hope you will like it. I am sending you also a copy of the "American Journal of Science" which I have just received. It is a very good journal, and I hope you will like it.

Yours very truly,
W. C. Brewster

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sets of clothing, one for dress and the other for work. In the winter they are to wear hose and woolen jackets or vests stuffed with cotton or wool. Married women are to wear unadorned white cotton veils (tocas) over their other garments, which shall cover their heads and the rest of their bodies; single girls are not obliged to wear them.⁵⁸

As for instruction, the children are to be taught their ABC's. They are also to be trained in farming, as will be explained further on. But of primary importance is the instruction in Christian and moral doctrine and good customs according to the form of Quiroga's printed Doctrina Christiana. This doctrina was to form them not only in faith but also in general principles of civilized life and was to be considered as supplementary to the Ordinances in ruling their life. Quiroga's aim was to give them policia and prudence, destroying what was evil in their native customs but preserving what was good. Those who have been taught in the hospital are to take with them when they leave the hospital "sound and Catholic Christian doctrine and policia, and crafts" which they will teach to their neighbors.⁵⁹

Those who are not legitimately impeded are to attend Mass on days when it is celebrated. Quiroga gives a list of special feasts,

⁵⁸The vesture of the Utopians was to be of one style, except for the distinction of man and woman, married and unmarried. Outer clothing was made of wool or linen in their natural color, fit for both winter and summer, each family making its own. For work they wore leather garments. Ibid., pp. 79, 80, 85.

⁵⁹Although the intellectual interests of the citizens of Santa Fe were not expected to be as sophisticated as those of the Utopians, intellectual training was not neglected. The emphasis was on training in Christian doctrine, as that was the purpose for which the pueblos were founded.

apparently made up primarily for Santa Fe de México. They are to celebrate the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the day on which the first tall crosses were raised in both hospitals, although in different years. Bishop Zumárraga had granted indulgences for this day for Santa Fe de México. The feast of San Salvador is to be celebrated in the hermitage of that name in the valley near the pueblo, the feast of the Assumption in the principal church which was under that patronage, and the feast of St. Michael and the other angels in the church of St. Michael to be built above the valley in a place set aside for it.

On the principal feasts all the members of the pueblo are to gather for common meals in a large hall built for this purpose. This meal shall be at the expense of the commune. Each familia shall take its turn in preparing one of these meals, which shall not be of strange or skimpy foods but shall be abundant and cheerful.⁶⁰

Quiroga adds some admonitions as to personal habits. The people of the pueblos are to strive for cleanliness of both soul and body, so that the cleanliness of the soul appears outwardly in the body. They are not to paint their faces or bodies except for necessary or useful medicine. They are also exhorted not to make fun of anyone because of poverty, natural defects, or other causes.⁶¹

⁶⁰ This is a considerable departure from the Utopia, where meals in common were considered the usual thing. More, Utopia, pp. 89-90. It shows on Quiroga's part a greater respect for the individual family.

⁶¹ In Utopia to mock a man for a deformity was considered a reproach not to him who was mocked but to him who mocked. Ibid., p. 125.

The Work of the Pueblo. The work of the pueblo is to be done willingly and without complaint, for the benefit of the hospital and its hospitality. It is to be regarded as a means of learning policia and prudencia. Six hours each day are to be employed in works for the common good,⁶² the fruits of which are to be distributed equitably according to need. The excess, after the needy of the hospital are cared for, is to be employed in pious works and for the benefits of other needy people.

There are two main types of work: mechanical and agricultural. Mechanical work includes such occupations as weaving, stonecutting, carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The artisans who are trained in these crafts are to make all necessary repairs on the buildings during the six hours of common labor. The buildings are to be repaired as soon as they show signs of damage before the harm becomes serious. Girls are to be taught womanly arts at home, such as the working of wool, linen, silk, and cotton.⁶³

Agriculture is to be the principal occupation of the pueblo and the common work of all the members. Six hours a day were to be devoted to work in the common fields but at times it might be considered better to work from sunrise to sunset two or three days a week according

⁶² The Utopian workday consisted of six hours, three before dinner and three after dinner. More, Utopia (Latin), p. 79. Robynson's translation is defective here. More, Utopia (English), p. 80.

⁶³ Husbandry and crafts were the main occupations in Utopia. The principal crafts were cloth-working, masonry, blacksmithing, and carpentry. More, Utopia (English), p. 78. Buildings were quickly repaired and damages prevented. Ibid., p. 84. Women did light work such as work in wool and flax. Ibid., p. 79.

BOOK REVIEWS

entirely of what we owe to you and always add to your self
but I assure you he deserved well of his country. Justice has signified
that a sufficient sum is a sufficient sum & it is justified at
least that those who have done us the most good are thankfully but
unjustly denied a sufficient number of the public revenues ^{so}, how can we
ever hope to live up to our obligations to the poor and the sick
when a sum so small is all we can give away at the expense of the
rich? I am sorry to say that the signing of the bill is now
delayed.

Yesterday the House of Representatives voted in much alarm and great anxiety
against me, and you are right in your judgment that I am bound
to stand by the bill, notwithstanding the opposition of the extreme
reactionaries and the narrow-mindedness of the men of the other party
in the Legislature. And yet I am anxious and greatly anxious to stand by the bill
and to do my best to secure its passage, and I am afraid that if we do
not pass it to-morrow we shall be compelled to take a general election and of course
the signing of the bill will be delayed.

On the 1st of January, 1863, the Legislature adjourned and did not meet again until
the 1st of March, 1864, and during that time there was no session of the Legislature.
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to the demands of the season.⁶⁴ Children are to be taught farming with their ABC's. Twice weekly after the time of classes they are to be taken into a field near the school and instructed in agriculture for an hour or two after the fashion of a game or a pastime. What they raise is to be distributed among them according to the quality of their work.⁶⁵

Individuals can have the usufruct of orchards and pieces of land for recreation and subsidiary income,⁶⁶ but only for as long as they live in the pueblo. In case of death or long absence from the pueblo without permission, the usufruct passes on to the children or grandchildren or to the most deserving members of the pueblo who do not have land. The immovable goods of the hospital are inalienable.

The farms and ranches are to be staffed from the urban familias, with four to six married couples in each, chosen by the principal and regidores. They are to be changed every two years but if anyone wishes to stay longer he may do so, provided he has the express permission of the rector and regidores. The oldest in each group is to be in charge and the others are to obey him. When the farm families are changed, the most capable or the oldest is to remain as principal to oversee the work

⁶⁴ Agriculture was a science common to all Utopians. Ibid., p. 78. To this work, as to others, the six-hour day applied.

⁶⁵ Utopian children were instructed in agriculture from their youth, partly in schools, partly in the country near the city, "brought up as it were in playinge." Ibid., p. 78.

⁶⁶ On the back side of the houses in the Utopian cities were large gardens in which they took great pride and pleasure. Ibid., pp. 74-75.

of the new arrivals and the whole familia is to obey him.⁶⁷ Slack seasons in farm work are to be filled in by supplementary work, such as cutting and shaping of stone and timber and collecting of wild products.

They are to raise a full list of farm products--fowl, both Spanish and native; sheep, goats, cows, pigs, and draught animals, with preference for oxen; produce of orchards and gardens, and field crops. They are to plant twice as much as is considered necessary for the pueblo, or at least one-third more than necessary. The surplus is not to be disposed of until they are certain that there will be no shortage for the coming year. Then it can be replaced by the new crop. There shall be adequate places for the storage of the produce and from there it shall be distributed to each and all according to need.⁶⁸ In each familia there is also to be some place to store what is distributed.

The income from the sale of produce and from other sources is to be kept in a large chest with three keys which are to be kept by the

⁶⁷ The Utopian farms were staffed from the cities, each having not less than forty workers, men and women, under the direction of a grave and elderly father and mother of the family. Twenty people were exchanged between the farms and the city each year, so that those who were sent to the farms remained there two years and only half the staff was changed at once. Those who wished could obtain permission to stay longer. Ibid., p. 70.

⁶⁸ In Utopia, the farmers planted more crops and raised more animals than necessary. Ibid., p. 71. They did not consider their store sufficient until they had provided for two years following. Ibid., p. 95. They had four centers in each city where food and other necessities were stored and distributed. Ibid., pp. 87-88.

rector, the principal, and the oldest of the regidores.⁶⁹ In this box are also to be kept the account books, which are to be given annually to the rector, regidores, patron, and protectors of the hospital, and to Quiroga until his death.

The Infirmary. An infirmary is to be built on the plan of a large familia, square, twice as large as the others and a little separate from them. On one side there is to be a large hall for those sick with contagious diseases and opposite it another hall for those with non-contagious ailments.⁷⁰ The other two halls at the front and back of the familia shall be for the mayordomo and dispensero of the sick and for the necessary offices. In the middle of the patio there is to be a covered chapel with open sides where Mass can be said and the sick can attend.

The mayordomo and dispensero are to give of the best and first things of the hospital to the sick when they make a request, and what they do not have they shall buy. A druggist, physician, and surgeon shall be hired to visit and care for the sick.⁷¹ The healthy shall visit the sick, guarding themselves against contagion, but consoling

⁶⁹ The Utopians sold surplus produce and obtained whatever they lacked in their own land. They kept the records of debts in a common box. Treasures were reserved for times of unexpected need and danger. Ibid., pp. 95-96.

⁷⁰ The Utopian city had four hospitals roundabout, with ample space in each so that the sick were not crowded and so that those suffering from contagious diseases could be kept far apart from the others. Ibid., p. 89.

⁷¹ In the distribution of food in Utopia, first consideration was to be had for the sick. They were supplied with everything necessary, and physicians were continually present. Ibid.

and 1980. At 10:00 AM, I took a walk around the lake, including the west, northern and eastern shores. The water was clear and the lake was calm. There were no birds in sight.

10:00 AM - 12:00 PM: A walk around the lake

I took a walk around the lake, including the west, northern and eastern shores. The water was clear and the lake was calm. There were no birds in sight. I also took a walk along the southern shoreline, which was mostly covered in trees. I saw a few birds, including a pair of Canada geese, a pair of mallards, and a pair of American coots. I also saw a pair of red-winged blackbirds and a pair of house sparrows. The weather was nice and sunny, with a temperature of about 65 degrees Fahrenheit.

At 12:00 PM, I took a break and had a sandwich. After finishing my sandwich, I took a walk around the lake again. This time, I saw more birds, including a pair of Canada geese, a pair of mallards, and a pair of house sparrows. The weather was nice and sunny, with a temperature of about 65 degrees Fahrenheit.

At 1:00 PM, I took another walk around the lake. This time, I saw a pair of Canada geese, a pair of mallards, and a pair of house sparrows. The weather was nice and sunny, with a temperature of about 65 degrees Fahrenheit.

At 2:00 PM, I took another walk around the lake. This time, I saw a pair of Canada geese, a pair of mallards, and a pair of house sparrows. The weather was nice and sunny, with a temperature of about 65 degrees Fahrenheit.

At 3:00 PM, I took another walk around the lake. This time, I saw a pair of Canada geese, a pair of mallards, and a pair of house sparrows. The weather was nice and sunny, with a temperature of about 65 degrees Fahrenheit.

the sick and showing them the greatest possible charity and interest.

Expulsion from the Pueblo. A member may be expelled from the hospital for any of the following causes: doing a hideous thing or causing bad example, unruliness, living scandalously, being a bad Christian, drunkenness, excessive laziness, consistent violation of the ordinances, acting against the common good of the hospital. Such a person is to be expelled and is to restore what he has profited from his stay. This ordinance shall be executed by the principal and regidores, having consulted the rector.⁷²

Having now studied the background and ordinances of the pueblo-hospitals of Santa Fe, we will turn our attention to their history and development.

⁷² Crimes in Utopia were punished by death, banishment, or bondage. Ibid., pp. 77, 124, 146. The pueblos de Santa Fe had no authority to punish except by exclusion from membership.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOUNDING OF SANTA FE DE MÉXICO

We have seen that when Quiroga wrote his letter to the Council of the Indies on August 14, 1531, he was deeply concerned about the need to do something for the children who had been raised in the friaries and for the orphaned waifs who wandered about the marketplaces. He proposed to the crown that special towns be founded in which they could establish their homes under the watchful care of a few friars.¹ This idea was the seed from which the pueblo-hospitals of Santa Fe sprang.

The crown replied to a letter of the audiencia of Mexico on March 20, 1532. The reply stated that four paragraphs of the letter had been devoted to the scattered and disordered way in which the Indians lived, which made it very difficult to check their paganism and to train them in Christianity. The audiencia had presented both the advantages and problems that would result from uniting the Indians into larger communities. To the authorities in Spain it seemed that any sudden change in this matter might create difficulties at first, but it allowed the audiencia to make the final decision. In any case, the first efforts in this direction were to be made little by little as an experiment and not all at once. It was recommended that the children who had been brought up in the friaries be put in towns with the Spaniards so that

¹Quiroga al Consejo, México, 14 de agosto, 1531, BII, XIII,
421-424, 429.

Colección de docum. medieva. relativos al descubrimiento
y conquista & organización de los antiguos pueblos. Espa-
ña. Colección de documentos y q. Vol. Madrid
1862. Vol. 2. p. 62.

they could be drawn into the Spanish way of life.²

Quiroga must have found this a somewhat cool reception to his enthusiastic proposal, but it did give him a green light to proceed with an experiment. He leaped into the task as soon as he had received this somewhat grudging permission. The letter from the crown, which was dated March 20, 1532, could not have reached Mexico before sometime in the summer of that year. On August 30 Quiroga closed the deal on his first purchase of land for his pueblo-hospital. The bill of sale reads in part as follows:

Let all who shall see this letter know that I, Pedro de Meneses, who am a citizen of this great city of Tenuxtitlan México of this New Spain, of my free and good will do declare and acknowledge that I sell to you, Señor Licenciado Vasco de Quiroga, oidor of this royal audiencia which resides in this city of Mexico, namely, two parts of an estancia which is called Almeluya which is within the bounds of this city, which on the one side borders upon lands of Tlacoayaca and on the other side lands of Tacuba. The one part I had from García Holguín. The said two parts I sell to you in order to enlarge the pueblo and hospital of Santa Fe and for the support and lodging of poor Indians . . . for the price and amount of seventy pesos of the gold which is current at the present in this said city, smelted and marked at the value of four hundred and fifty maravedís per peso. . . .

Later the same year Quiroga bought the third part of an estancia from Alonso Dávila, scribe of the smelting-house and citizen of Mexico City. The description of this piece of property reads:

one third part of an estancia which is called Acasuchil which is in the bounds of Cuyuacán, the other two parts of which belong to you, the said Señor Licenciado Vasco de Quiroga, which borders on the one side on a large orchard and on the other side on lands of the Marqués del Valle. . . .

²Puga, I, 263-264, 273.

³Quiroga vs. Martín Cortés, ff. 201v-204.

Quiroga made the purchase from Dávila on September 9, 1532, for 40 pesos of gold, again valued at 450 maravedís per peso.⁴ Although the description of this piece of property differs considerably from that purchased from Pedro de Meneses, it seems to have been the rest of the same piece. Not only does the bill of sale refer to the two other parts belonging to Quiroga, but summary of the bill of sale, presented by Quiroga for his residencia in 1536, speaks of the other two parts as having belonged to Pedro de Meneses.⁵

Over the course of the next several years Quiroga continued to expand the holdings of Santa Fe. On February 15, 1534, Quiroga paid 90 pesos of gold (450 mrs. per peso) to Juan de Fuentes for "an estancia, house, and lands with everything that is in it and belongs to it . . . which said estancia is within the bounds of this city of Mexico near Tacubaya above the estancia of the Factor, Gonzalo de Salazar. . . ."⁶

A conflict over land rights must have arisen between the Indians of Santa Fe and those of Tacuba, for on April 26, 1534, in a country place called Quamulco near Chapultepec, Quiroga met with the leaders of Tacuba to settle certain differences. It was decided that a road on which they met, which began on the east at Chapultepec and ran west to a barranca and passed between some maguey patches near some houses, should be the dividing line between lands worked by the Indians of Santa Fe and those cultivated by natives of Tacuba. Whoever would plow and sow

⁴Ibid., ff. 272v-276.

⁵RSA, f. 71.

⁶Quiroga vs. Martín Cortés, ff. 279-283.

in the land designated for the other group would lose the produce of his work and those in whose area it fell would enjoy the fruits of the same.⁷

Quiroga made a second purchase of land from Alonso Dávila on July 12, 1534. This piece was an estancia "in the area called Acasuchil which on the one side borders on lands of the natives of the pueblos of Cuyuacán, and on the other side on the royal road that goes to the new pueblo of Santa Fe, and along the back, on the land of the said Santa Fe. . . ." Dávila sold the estancia with some houses which he had on it and with all its Castilian and native trees to Quiroga for 70 gold pesos.⁸

Juan de Burgos sold Quiroga a piece of land for 30 pesos on October 2, 1534. Burgos had developed this land to some extent, as is evident from the bill of sale:

I sell to you, Señor Licenciado Vasco de Quiroga, . . . a piece of cultivated land of orchards and grain fields and trees and plants of Castile and a dove-cot, which is in Acasuchil in the bounds of this city . . . which has as boundaries on the one side the cultivated land of the Factor, Gonzalo de Salazar, in the valley on the lower watershed of the same valley; [I sell this land] with all that you can settle and make use of up the same valley; and I sell you the said cultivated land in order to expand and enlarge the pueblo and hospital of Santa Fe for the support and lodging of poor Indians. . . .⁹

In 1535 Quiroga added two more estancias to the holdings of his pueblo-hospital. For the price of 130 pesos he purchased from Alonso de Paredes on November 10, 1535, "two estancias of land which are in the

⁷ Ibid., ff. 300-301.

⁸ Ibid., ff. 290-292v.

⁹ Ibid., ff. 262-265.

bounds of this city . . . which are on the road from the estancia of the Factor, which border on lands of Nuño de Guzmán. . . ."¹⁰

The final purchase of land by Quiroga for which we have the bill of sale was made on July 28, 1536. On that date he bought from Diego Muñoz and his wife Pascuala Jiménez "an estancia which is called Acasuche, which is in the bounds of Tacubaya, which on one side borders on lands of Tacubaya, for the price of seventy pesos. . . ."¹¹

At some time during this period Quiroga had also purchased an island named Tultepec from the Indians of Ocoyoacac. On March 1, 1536, the cacique of Ocoyoacac brought a complaint concerning this purchase as part of Quiroga's residencia.¹² But an item among the expenses which Quiroga underwent in founding Santa Fe indicates that he paid the Indians of Capulhuac forty blankets for the islet.¹³ The island was located in Matalcingo along the side of the river.¹⁴

There is no indication that Quiroga made any further purchases of land for the pueblo de Santa Fe de México. His lawsuit with the second Marqués del Valle, in which he presented his documents of ownership, occurred during the last two years of his life (1563-1565) and he undoubtedly presented all the documents he had. The sum of his expenditures

¹⁰ Ibid., ff. 305-308.

¹¹ Ibid., ff. 322v-326.

¹² Ibid., ff. 96-100v, 199. Printed in Aguayo Spencer, pp. 455-460, from a different manuscript copy.

¹³ RSA, f. 452.

¹⁴ Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540, f. 924v.

for land comes to an even 500 pesos, plus the forty blankets expended for the island of Tultepec. Unfortunately the documents give us no idea at all of the size of these pieces of land.

One final piece of land came to Santa Fe de México, not by purchase but by royal benevolence. A royal cedula to Don Antonio de Mendoza, made out in Madrid on November 13, 1535, stated that Licenciado Quiroga had informed the crown of the two pueblos and hospitals that he had founded for poor Christian Indians and of their need to have land to work. He had claimed that there were certain unused lands near the pueblos which would suit their needs. Mendoza was instructed to look into the question and, if there were really unoccupied lands which could be given to the pueblos without prejudice to a third party, he was to provide them with the part that seemed right to him and to send the Council a report on what he did and his opinion of the pueblos.

Mendoza committed the question of the lands to Licenciado Francisco de Loaysa, oidor of the audiencia, and Martín de Peralta, who went to Santa Fe de México to see what unoccupied lands could be given over to the use of the pueblo. They were accompanied by Pero Rodríguez Parrón, measurer. They marked off what appears to have been a fairly large tract of land which joined the lands of the pueblo and appeared suitable for its needs. The rather lengthy description of the land will be given here in Spanish since it is very cumbersome in English:

. . . las [tierras] que al dicho hospital se podían dar . . . eran las que de yuso señalaron y amojonaron que son desde los árboles que están junto a sementera del dicho hospital que va a dar a la rambla de la estancia de Juan de Burgos que es ahora del dicho pueblo y hospital que alinda con estancia del factor atravesando hacia el norte otra rambla derecho a dar a otros

dos árboles que están orilla de otro maizal sementera de los indios del dicho hospital cerca de una palma grande; y de allí a dar al senderillo que va de Chapultepec y de allí por el mismo sendero hacia poniente a dar en la rambla y de allí por la rambla arriba a dar a la hondariza del paso estrecho; y de allí atravesando por el robledal por otra rambla orilla de ella a dar al camino que pasa por Guajimalpa a Tacuba, lo que al presente no estuviere por otros rompido de lo baldío y aquí acaba por esta parte del monte; y después iendo por el dicho camino de Tacuba a dar en el dicho camino real se toma y vuelve el límite abajo del cu de la una parte y otra del dicho camino real que va de México a Guajimalpa entre las dos ramblas que van de la una y de la otra parte del dicho camino real, donde tienen los indios del dicho hospital sus sementeras, a dar hacia la parte de Coyoacán a sementeras de indios sujetos a Coyoacán de esa parte de los cipreses donde era cu que están junto al sendero y camino que se aparta del dicho camino real y va a Coyoacán; y de allí tomando la rambla abajo por las aguas vertientes de ella por cima de la palmilla que está a medio de la cuesta derecho a dar a Capula donde labran los indios de Santa Fe; y de allí atravesando el valle hacia el norte a dar por la otra palmilla que está cabe el camino real que es mojon de la sementera del dicho hospital que se dice Acutitlan que va a dar a la otra rambla de la otra parte del camino donde están unos árboles que se dicen Tepeolulco y Axalco donde labran los dichos indios de Santa Fe. . . .¹⁵

Viceroy Mendoza, after seeing the description of the lands, granted them to the Indians of Santa Fe on August 31, 1537, with the insistence that they were to be used for cultivation. On November 22, 1537, Andrés Juárez, alguacil mayor of the audiencia, in the presence of several witnesses, officially gave possession of the land to Don Carlos, governor, Juan, regidor, and other Indian officials of Santa Fe in the name of the pueblo.¹⁶ With this the accumulation of land for

¹⁵ Having read four copies of this grant, each with notable differences in wording, I have tried to combine them here to get what seems to me to be the best reading. The sources used were the printed copy in León, Documentos, pp. 1-5 (based on a manuscript copy in AGI, Justicia, leg. 204, No. 3, ramo 3), and three manuscript copies in Quiroga vs. Martín Cortés, ff. 5-7v, 15-18, 318-321.

¹⁶ Quiroga vs. Martín Cortés, ff. 16-18; León, Documentos, pp. 3-5.

the 19th century, the first half of which was dominated by the forces of conservatism and reaction. The second half, however, saw a significant shift towards more progressive and liberal ideas. This transition was influenced by various factors, including the growth of the middle class, the development of industrialization, and the spread of Enlightenment思想. The period also saw the emergence of new political parties, such as the Constitutionalists and the Revolutionaries, who advocated for constitutional government and civil liberties. The final years of the 19th century were marked by the consolidation of power by the Constitutionalists under the leadership of President Porfirio Díaz, who ruled for nearly four decades. During his reign, the country experienced significant economic growth and modernization, but also faced challenges such as political corruption, social inequality, and external debt.

During the early 20th century, the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) marked a major turning point in the country's history. The revolution was triggered by a combination of factors, including political corruption, economic inequality, and social unrest. The revolution led to the overthrow of President Porfirio Díaz and the establishment of a new political system based on democracy and social justice. The revolution also resulted in significant social and economic changes, such as the redistribution of land and the nationalization of key industries. The period following the revolution was characterized by political instability and social conflict, but also saw the emergence of new political parties and the development of a more pluralistic political system. The 20th century also saw the emergence of new cultural movements, such as the Mexican Renaissance and the Mexican Mural Movement, which celebrated Mexican history and culture and promoted a sense of national identity.

The 21st century has seen Mexico continue to develop and evolve. The country has faced numerous challenges, including political corruption, economic inequality, and social unrest. However, it has also made significant progress in areas such as education, health care, and infrastructure. The country has become a major player in the global economy, with a diverse range of industries and a growing service sector. The Mexican government has implemented various policies to address these challenges, such as the implementation of a new constitution in 2011, which established a more decentralized political system and strengthened the rule of law. The country has also made significant strides in terms of gender equality and the rights of marginalized groups, such as indigenous peoples and LGBTQ+ individuals. Overall, Mexico continues to navigate the complexities of the 21st century, seeking to build a more just, equitable, and sustainable future for all its citizens.

Overall, Mexico's history is one of resilience, innovation, and adaptation, despite facing numerous challenges along the way.

the pueblo was complete.

In the meantime, while Quiroga had been building up the land-holdings of the pueblo, he had also been developing the physical plant. A short item in a letter of the audiencia to the Empress, dated November 3, 1532, made it known that the pueblos which the crown had commanded to be set up with the boys who were taught in the monasteries had begun to be organized with all necessary caution, a matter which was considered profitable and important for the service of God and crown as well as for the security and increase of the land.¹⁷ The formal ceremony of founding must have taken place on September 14, 1532, since Quiroga states in the Ordinances that the first tall crosses were erected in each pueblo de Santa Fe on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, although in different years.¹⁸

The best description of the construction of Santa Fe de México is that given by Don Juan, governor of Santiago Tlatelolco, on March 14, 1536, as part of Quiroga's residencia. He said that more than two years previously Quiroga had asked him and Don Pablo, governor of the Indian barrio of México, as well as other principales, to build him a thatch house in Guajimalpa, which is above Santa Fe, and they said they would be glad to do it. Quiroga told them that this house was not to be for him but for God and to shelter the poor. They sent principales and skilled workers with Quiroga to see where he wanted them to build the

¹⁷ La audiencia de México a la emperatriz, México, 3 de noviembre, 1532, ENE, II, 218.

¹⁸ Quiroga, "Ordenanzas," pp. 263-264.

house and they built him there a modest building covered with thatch. Don Juan did not know if anyone ever lived in this house, but after a few days Quiroga came back to talk to them and said that lower down toward Mexico City in a place called Acasuchil, which is now called Santa Fe, he would like the Indians from the barrio of México to build him one house and those from Santiago another. They each built him a house which he called a familia, with a small patio surrounded by little houses and with only one door by which to enter and leave, after the fashion of corrals. After they had built these familias, Quiroga again called them and asked them to build two more houses like the previous ones but larger. Again they complied with his request, this time building familias with fifteen little houses each, whereas the earlier ones contained only about ten apiece. The common people had carried building materials, such as stone, some wood, adobes, and lime two leagues from México to Santa Fe on their backs.

Later Quiroga asked them to make him a large kitchen to prepare meals for those who might pass along that way and take shelter there. For this they carried some materials from the city, except for the wood which they cut from the mountain a little distance beyond Santa Fe. Afterwards he asked them to build him a church, since it was all for the service of God and their own good. This they built beside a good and pleasant spring, and next to the church they made four cells for friars. Then the licenciado asked them to make a church further up beside the familias so that those who took refuge there could hear Mass. In that place there was the beginning of a house which they repaired and finished

and made into a church. Next to it they built a refectory. The Indians of Texcoco, Otumba, and Tepeapulco also built a familia there like the first ones the others had made.¹⁹

This work of construction must have begun very soon after Quiroga bought his first piece of land in August 1532. A certification by Pedro García, interpreter, states that on October 9, 1532, Quiroga paid the Indians of Xalatlaco and Atlapulco four bundles of cloth and one blanket from Cuernavaca for making doors, covering rooms, and for other things they had done for Santa Fe. This indicates that some of the buildings were under roof already in October 1532. Since these first buildings were of thatch, it probably did not take very long to put them up. In regard to the four familias, construction on them must have started before August 8, 1533, because on that date Bishop Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal, president of the audiencia, mentioned in a letter to the crown that he had asked the Indians of the city to build four houses for Santa Fe.²⁰ Don Juan also mentioned this request in his testimony.²¹

It is impossible to give any accurate estimate of how much this construction cost Quiroga, since all the statements we have are given in terms of blankets, or mantas. For the building of the four familias he gave Don Juan six bundles, or 120 mantas, for the Indians of Santiago,

¹⁹ RSA, ff. 194v-196.

²⁰ El presidente de la audiencia de México a su Majestad, México, 8 de agosto, 1533, AGI, México, leg. 68, ramo 1; ENE, III, 118.

²¹ RSA, f. 196v.

and gave Don Pablo an equal number for those of the barrio of México. He paid the principales of Texcoco eighty-four mantas for the familia which they built.²²

He also paid a considerable amount for building materials. Over and above the two hundred fanegas of lime which were donated for the work by Bishop Fuenleal, Quiroga paid out 141 mantas and later seven pesos for lime. He also expended twenty-three mantas for wood and thirty-four for bricks.²³

In building his church, Quiroga did not neglect art, and for this he drew upon native materials and talent. On October 10, 1532, he paid fourteen mantas to the Indian painters of the parish of Santiago for painting large mantas for the hospital. No indication is given as to the subject of these paintings.²⁴ At another time he paid eleven mantas to a group called "las amantecas pinteros [sic] de México" for painting three retablos--one of a large cross, another of Jesus carrying the cross, and a third of the seven sacraments. He had also given them six mantas for the colors, plus the canvases for the two small retablos.²⁵ Another seven mantas were given to painters for painting the pillars of Santa Fe and eighty mantas were paid to Don Juan for a cross of rich plumage for Santa Fe.²⁶ This last item must have been a very beautiful

²² Ibid., ff. 196v, 452.

²³ Ibid., ff. 287, 451v, 452v.

²⁴ Ibid., f. 73.

²⁵ Ibid., ff. 73-73v.

²⁶ Ibid., f. 451v.

law and the school. In a word, we suffer now greatly and every hour

we are more and more compelled to reorienting our lives all

the time.

It is not clear what to do about this situation. We have all

been brought up to believe that the way forward out of trouble lies

in the direction of greater and greater centralization, greater and greater

centralization of power, and greater and greater control by the state

over people's lives.

But the situation is changing rapidly and rapidly all

around us. The world is changing rapidly and rapidly all around us.

The world is changing rapidly and rapidly all around us.

The world is changing rapidly and rapidly all around us.

The world is changing rapidly and rapidly all around us.

The world is changing rapidly and rapidly all around us.

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The world is changing rapidly and rapidly all around us.

piece of work.

As he was building, Quiroga was also having the farm land prepared and putting in the first crops for his pueblo. In order to use his island of Tultepec, he first had to have a causeway and bridge built, for which he paid the Indians of Capulhuac thirty mantas. Then, in order to have the island plowed and worked the first time, he had to pay the Indians of Capulhuac, Toluca, Metepec, and Teutenango another seventy mantas. For the sowing of the crop, he paid out eighteen more mantas. He also hired extra help for working the lands of Santa Fe itself for the price of fifty-three mantas.²⁷

It is unfortunate that we do not have a more accurate idea of the value of mantas in terms of Spanish money. Quiroga, in a statement in his residencia, presented April 11, 1536, assures us that they were "mantas of Cuernavaca, which are very good."²⁸ In the same statement Quiroga estimates his total expenditure in Santa Fe at 6,000 or 7,000 pesos.²⁹ This was quite a large expenditure over the course of four years for a man whose salary was less than 1,700 pesos a year (i.e., evaluating his salary in gold pesos of 450 maravedís). Many witnesses for the descargos of his residencia agreed with his statement that he had spent on his pueblos of Santa Fe whatever he was able to save or had previously saved out of his salary, taking for himself only his ordinary

²⁷ Ibid., ff. 451v-452.

²⁸ Ibid., f. 62.

²⁹ Ibid., f. 61.

daily support.³⁰ Martín de Calahorra stated that he had heard Quiroga's servants complaining that he was throwing everything into Santa Fe for the food, clothing, church, housing, and other needs of the Indians. It seemed that Quiroga esteemed Santa Fe higher than a position of great income and honor.³¹ Fray Juan de San Román, an Augustinian, asserted that Quiroga was in debt because he had spent more than his salary in setting up Santa Fe, and the friar had often scolded him for spending so much on his project.³²

But Quiroga found that his own income and the produce of the pueblo's fields did not satisfy the needs of his town. His friend, Bishop Fuenleal, appealed to the king to grant 1,500 fanegas of maize to feed the people who were living in Santa Fe. His letter of August 8, 1533, in which we find this appeal, indicates that he had already written the crown about this matter once previously.³³ By the time of his second appeal, his request had already been granted. In a cedula dated in Barcelona on July 5, 1533, the Emperor had commanded the royal officials of New Spain to give to the Indians of Santa Fe 1,500 fanegas of maize from the crown's stores each year for the years 1533 and 1534.³⁴

One of Quiroga's main interests in founding Santa Fe de México had been to provide a place for the children who had been raised in

³⁰ Ibid., ff. 286v-287; Aguayo Spencer, p. 414.

³¹ Aguayo Spencer, p. 418.

³² Ibid., p. 452.

³³ El presidente de la audiencia de México a su Majestad, México, 8 de agosto, 1533, ENE, III, 118.

³⁴ RSA, ff. 68v-69v.

the monasteries. It seems that a group of these formed the nucleus around which the pueblo was formed. Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, testifying for Quiroga in 1536, stated that the oidor had conferred with him about founding the pueblo when the friar was guardian of Texcoco, asking him to gather poor Indians of a good life who would live in Santa Fe and teach Christian doctrine. Fray Antonio took to Santa Fe about twenty-five of the best Indians he could find, who had been raised and instructed in the friary of Texcoco. Some of them were already married, and the rest were married in Santa Fe. It was this group who formed the custom of reciting the Office of Our Lady in common.³⁵ Even the Emperor, in his cedula granting corn for Santa Fe, considered it worthy of mention that the Indians and their wives rose each night to say matins of Our Lady at midnight and that they said the other hours of the office before going to work in the morning.³⁶ Juan Seciliano also attested to the fact that the Indians of Santa Fe sometimes sang Solemn Masses.³⁷

This nucleus of well-trained Christian Indians were to serve under the direction of a friar or a secular priest for the instruction of others who would come to the pueblo. Quiroga put a great deal of emphasis on the work of his pueblo as a center for the instruction of Indians in the Catholic faith. In the questions of his descargos, he mentions the baptism of the infidel and the instruction of the ignorant

³⁵ Aguayo Spencer, pp. 435-436.

³⁶ RSA, f. 69.

³⁷ Aguayo Spencer, p. 416.

as works for which the pueblo was founded. He also stated that poor and orphaned Indians from remote areas and various language groups had been brought there to be instructed. They were given everything they needed for the love of God and, after they were well instructed in the Christian life and good habits, they went out to teach those of their own language and country.³⁸ According to Martín de Calahorra, Quiroga himself expended a great deal of effort in the instruction of the Indians, even composing sermons to be preached to them. Some of the residents of the hospital were expert enough to preach to the others with great fervor. Calahorra thought that the Indians were perhaps instructed better in Santa Fe than in the monasteries.³⁹ Alonso de Paz, a scribe, testified that he had not seen in any other part of New Spain more Christianity and good will than in Santa Fe.⁴⁰ Evidence of the success of the instructions given at Santa Fe is found in the testimony of Bartolomé Alguacil. He had seen the prior of St. Augustine baptize more than four or five hundred souls at the pueblo.⁴¹ According to Father Alonso Rodriguez, a secular priest, the success of the instructions in the faith was not due to any pressure that was put on the Indians but only to the love which led them on.⁴²

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 413-414.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 417-418.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 437.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 421.

⁴² Ibid., p. 440.

Martín de Calahorra maintained that the success of Santa Fe as a school of the faith had aroused the envy of some of those who were occupied in the conversion of the Indians and they would have liked to undo it.⁴³ The testimony of the friars in the residencia, however, expressed only admiration for the self-sacrificing work of the good oidor. Fray Luis de Fuensalida, a Franciscan who had preached in Santa Fe frequently, said that he would have liked to be entrusted with the care of the hospital and that many other friars were of the same mind.⁴⁴ Bishop Zumárraga felt that Quiroga by his good works gave a lesson and even a correction to the bishops of those parts, and the bishop expressed a holy envy for Quiroga because he did so much good without failing in his office of oidor.⁴⁵ In the opinion of Fray Juan de San Román, no faith could be founded in those regions unless the Indians were brought together as they were in Santa Fe.⁴⁶

A corollary of the thorough instruction given to the Indians was the surrendering of idols by the people of the area of Santa Fe. Quiroga asserted that the neighbors of the pueblo, attracted by its good Christian works, willingly brought out the idols that they had kept buried or hidden and gave them over to the residents of the pueblo, where they were burned.⁴⁷ Some of the Indians accompanied Bartolomé

⁴³ Ibid., p. 418.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 432-433.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 443.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 451-452.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 413.

the ¹ in numbers and their behavior according to altitude
and other factors. In some cases the birds have been seen to feed on
the ground, while others have been observed in the air at heights
above 1500 meters. At night, however, the nocturnal bird life consists
mainly of small species, such as the *Colaptes*, *Leptasthenura*, *Thraupis*
and *Myiotheretes*. The *Colaptes* is the most numerous bird species
in the forest, and it is found throughout the area. It feeds on insects, fruits,
and small animals, and its diet is varied. The *Leptasthenura* is a
small bird, about 15 cm long, with a black cap and a white throat.
It feeds on insects, particularly ants, and is often seen flying over
the forest floor. The *Thraupis* is a medium-sized bird, with a
black cap and a white throat. It feeds on insects, particularly ants,
and is often seen flying over the forest floor. The *Myiotheretes* is a
small bird, about 10 cm long, with a black cap and a white throat.
It feeds on insects, particularly ants, and is often seen flying over
the forest floor. The *Colaptes* is the most numerous bird species
in the forest, and it is found throughout the area. It feeds on insects, fruits,
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the forest floor.

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., 810-820 .q .b101 ¹

., 810 .q .b101 ¹

Alguacil to the area where he was corregidor, about six leagues from Santa Fe, to seek idols in that area. They brought some to Alguacil who sent them to Quiroga, and afterward they were burned.⁴⁸

The pueblo was also founded as a refuge for all types of unfortunate people. In his will Quiroga speaks specifically of "indios pobres y miserables personas, pupilos, viudas, huérfanos, y mellizos." Indian mothers in their poverty and misery reportedly killed their twin children because they were not able to raise them.⁴⁹ It is worthy of note that Quiroga speaks of mellizos (twins) and not mestizos, as was given in León's copy of the will. This faulty reading led some scholars to quote Quiroga as saying that Indian mothers killed their mestizo children. The pueblo of Santa Fe served, then, as an orphanage as well as a center of Christianization. Quiroga considered the arranging of Christian marriages for orphans as one of the noteworthy benefits of his institution.⁵⁰

He also looked out for the education of those whom he considered sufficiently capable. At the time of his residencia in 1535 he had an Augustinian friar, Alonso Borja, residing in Santa Fe, who gave lessons in grammar, taught many children to read and write, and trained others in singing for the religious services.⁵¹ Fray Alonso had learned the

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 421.

⁴⁹ [El fiscal] con el Dean y Cabildo de Michoacán sobre el patronato de los hospitales de Santa Fe y Colegio de San Nicolás, 1566, AGI, Justicia, leg. 208, no. 4. This reading is also found in a copy of the will in AGI, México, leg. 374. Cf. León, Quiroga, p. 84.

⁵⁰ Aguayo Spencer, p. 413.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 413-414.

language of the Indians in order to be able to teach in Santa Fe.⁵²

Although Quiroga used the word hospital in the general sense of refuge, shelter, or "home" for unfortunates, it also included the idea of hospital in our modern English usage, as a place to care for the sick and injured. In question 34 of his descargos Quiroga listed the care of the sick first among the works of the pueblo,⁵³ but this aspect does not seem to have made much of an impression on those who saw the hospital. None of the witnesses made any enlightening comments about the way in which the sick were cared for. As we have seen already in the Ordinances, a special building was set aside for the sick and they were to be given the best of everything in the hospital.⁵⁴ But such an infirmary building had apparently not yet been built at the time of Quiroga's residencia, since Don Juan makes no reference to it in his relation.

Besides the care of the sick, the Indians of the pueblo also attended to the burial of the dead. Quiroga mentions this several times in the course of his residencia. Particularly in a defense of his work written in answer to charges brought against it, he gives a vivid explanation of the necessity of this service. He says that the pueblo was to serve "as a cemetery of all the dead of that district who previously were eaten by birds and dogs and other animals."⁵⁵

⁵² Ibid., p. 436.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 413.

⁵⁴ Quiroga, "Ordenanzas," pp. 262-263.

⁵⁵ RSA, f. 63.

An added benefit of the pueblo was the security of the area and the care of those who passed that way. Santa Fe was on the main road to the mines of Michoacán and the new conquests of Nuño de Guzmán in the northwest. Many escaped slaves of the Spaniards, both Indian and Negro, had found their way into the mountains near Santa Fe, which separated the Valley of Mexico and that of Toluca. They lived by raiding maize fields and taking what little the isolated Indians had in their houses. After the establishment of Santa Fe the local Indians brought their complaints to the residents of the pueblo and with their co-operation these maltreatments were brought to an end.⁵⁶

Due to the nearness of Santa Fe to the main highway, the residents and the Indians were endangered by unscrupulous travelers, who would have liked to drag them along as burden bearers and cause them other injuries and vexations. Because of this danger Quiroga appealed to the audiencia for protection. On February 14, 1536, a cedula acordada, issued by Viceroy Mendoza and the Licenciados Ceinos, Quiroga, and Loaysa, granted royal protection to the Indians of Santa Fe and threatened with a fine of 200 pesos all those who should go against this decree.⁵⁷ Apparently this protection was effective, since Fray Juan de San Román inferred in his testimony for the residencia, later in 1536, that because of the favor accorded the Indians of Santa

⁵⁶ Aguayo Spencer, pp. 449-450.

⁵⁷ León, Documentos, pp. 5-7. León's copy, however, errs in regard to the date, giving the year as 1533. This is an obvious error, since Viceroy Mendoza did not arrive in New Spain until 1535. Two copies of the decree in Quiroga vs. Martín Cortés give the year as 1536.

Fe they were freed of many coercions.⁵⁸ In spite of any harm that may have come to the Indians through misconduct of the Spaniards, Bartolomé Alguacil testified that the Spaniards who passed by way of Santa Fe could always expect kind treatment there.⁵⁹

Less than a month previous to the audiencia's cedula of protection, a royal cedula had been signed by the Queen in Madrid, granting royal favor to Quiroga's two pueblos of Santa Fe. This brief document, dated January 16, 1536, was addressed to Viceroy Mendoza. After mentioning in a general way the good that was being done by the pueblos, it commended them to the viceroy and commanded that they be given the favors and privileges that seemed to be appropriate.⁶⁰

In four years Quiroga had, then, made an excellent beginning in his home for unfortunates, having obtained lands, constructed buildings, gathered in unfortunates of all kinds, and obtained the favor of the government both in Spain and New Spain. But, like all great works, this had not been achieved without serious opposition and even malicious misinterpretation of the oidor's intentions. We will now look into this less pleasant side of the story of Santa Fe de México.

⁵⁸ Aguayo Spencer, p. 451.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 421.

⁶⁰ León, Documentos, p. 5.

CHAPTER V

DIFFICULTIES OF SANTA FE DE MÉXICO

From the very beginning Licenciado Quiroga's favorite project aroused considerable protest, particularly on the part of the cabildo of Mexico City. The cabildo, fiercely jealous of its prerogatives in the area surrounding the city, was not happy to see one of the oidores using Indian labor from there to build his own little town. On May 6, 1533, in a letter to the King, they objected to Quiroga's pueblo because it was being built at the expense of the natives and was drawing part of the Indian population away from the city.¹ The cabildo continued to keep close watch on Quiroga's activities. On June 16, 1533, they discussed the fact that Quiroga was constructing many buildings in Santa Fe at the expense of the Indians with the result that there were no Indian laborers to do the public works of the city. They commissioned one of the alcaldes and four regidores of the city to go with a scribe to Santa Fe to see the pueblo and report on it to the King.² A short time later, on June 30, 1533, Jerónimo López, regidor of México, presented a complaint to the cabildo that would later form the basis of one of the most serious charges against Quiroga in his residencia. He claimed that Quiroga was building an excessively large place and that the poor Indians,

¹ El ayuntamiento de México al Rey, 6 de mayo, 1533, ENE, III, 84.

² AC, III, 41.

unable to satisfy the quota of adobe and bricks for Santa Fe which their principales required, were taking their own houses apart to get the necessary materials. Even women and children were carrying burdens to the work, which was two leagues from the city. Not only were the Indians supplying the materials but they were not being given any salary for their work. López asked that an order be issued, requiring that the Indians be paid for their work and the materials.³

A little less than three years later, on February 28, 1536, López made substantially the same accusations against Quiroga and his work in the course of the latter's residencia. He added that the Indians told him that they were doing the work without pay because Quiroga would be angry if they did not do it. He claimed that the principales of México and Santiago Tlaltelolco had complained about the work and said they were suffering harm from it because of the amount of work that the maceguales, or common working men, had to undergo.⁴ Don Juan, governor of Santiago, also mentioned the difficulty of the work in his statement for the residencia. The Indians had to carry some of the building materials--stone, lime, and adobe--from Mexico City. The wood had been gotten from a mountain near Santa Fe. He said that Don Pedro, governor of the barrio of México, had gone to Quiroga and told him that, because it was winter and the rainy season, the maceguales did not have adobes and they were taking their houses apart in order to carry the bricks to Santa Fe. Don Juan maintained that if any Spaniard or other person had

³ Ibid.

⁴ RSA, ff. 157-159v.

asked them to build this building, they would have first made a contract with him and would have asked if he had wood, stone, adobes, and everything necessary, but because it was the tetuan who asked it of them, they had done it for him.⁵

From these complaints was made up the twenty-sixth charge of the residencia, a charge that brought Quiroga's capable pen into play in defending his work and resulted in the testimony which has given most of our information regarding the early history of Santa Fe. Don Juan himself took most of the sting out of his own and López' testimony by saying that they had done the work of their own free will and because it was for God. Don Pedro added that they had not been subjected to force or pressure to do the work although they would not have done it for any other Spaniard for so little.⁶

Among the documents which Quiroga presented to disprove the charges was a copy of a statement that Don Juan and Don Pedro made before the audiencia at Quiroga's request on March 19, 1534. Quiroga himself first presented a statement to be read by a scribe and translated for the Indians by an interpreter to the effect that the only reason he had not paid the Indians anything for their work previously was that they had offered to do the work themselves. They had done this because it was a work of God and they wanted to do it for love of God to gain merit, because it was a pious work to make up for the many works they had done for the devil while they were pagans, and also because it was not for the

⁵Ibid., ff. 195v-196v.

⁶Ibid., ff. 196v-197v.

sake of an outsider but for the benefit of themselves and their relatives, friends, poor natives, and orphans. Of late it had come to Quiroga's attention that they were saying that they had not done it of their own desire. He now asked them to declare before the other members of the audiencia whether they had done it to serve God and to receive a reward from Him, or if they wanted pay. If the latter was true, he was willing to pay them whatever price the other members of the audiencia should place on their work. In order to give the Indians greater liberty to speak their minds, Quiroga withdrew from the room before the statement was read to the Indians, asking the scribe to give him a copy of their statement for the satisfaction of his conscience and the safeguard of his rights.

The answer of the Indians was that, when Quiroga had asked them to do the work, he had offered to pay them for it. But they had told him that they would willingly do what they could on the work until it was finished for the reasons mentioned above and also because they saw that Quiroga himself spent his money with such good will for the service of God and the benefit of the natives. With this good will they had begun the work and would continue it until its completion. Quiroga had continually offered to pay them for the work but they wanted their reward from God for Whom alone they had done it and not for anyone else nor for any other payment. They had let the maceguales know that the work was being done for love of God and they were pleased to do it. If anyone had made a complaint about the work, it must have been some crazy person-- "algún loco de poco saber."⁷

⁷ Ibid., ff. 73v-77v.

This piece of testimony must have been a rather bitter pill for Jerónimo López, since, as secretary of the audiencia, he was the scribe who had to make the record of it. Two years later in his own testimony for the residencia he gave a very distorted description of this incident.⁸ The statement of the Indians agrees well with what Bishop Fuenleal had said in a letter of August 8, 1533, in which he stated that the Indians had done the work "con alegre voluntad."⁹ In spite of the protestations of the two Indian governors, Quiroga did eventually give them something for their work. We know both from their statements in the residencia and from Quiroga's list of expenses that he gave them each 120 mantas.¹⁰

Quiroga's requerimiento to the Indians on March 19, 1534, appears to have been an answer to López' accusations of June 30, 1533. But why did Quiroga take such a long time to answer López? Quiroga stated in his requerimiento to the Indian governors that their complaints had newly come to his attention,¹¹ indicating that he had probably not heard of them previously. The truth of the matter is that López' complaint had probably been given as something of a stab in the back to the oidor. In the summer of 1533 Quiroga was sent to Michoacán to make a visitation in that area because of disturbed conditions there. We do not know of the exact date of his departure but the end of June seems the probable

⁸ Ibid., ff. 159-159v.

⁹ El presidente de la audiencia de México a Su Majestad, 8 de agosto, 1533, ENE, III, 118.

¹⁰ RSA, ff. 196v-197, 452.

¹¹ Ibid., f. 75.

and this is to do so, it's a good way to take pictures in such situations, and you can also take advantage of the various camera models, such as point-and-shoot cameras, which are designed to make it easier for beginners to learn how to take pictures. In addition, there are many different types of cameras available, such as the Canon EOS 5D Mark IV, which has a built-in Wi-Fi feature that allows you to connect your smartphone to the camera via a simple app. This makes it easy to take photos and share them with friends and family.

Another great benefit of using a point-and-shoot camera is that it's a lot more compact than a DSLR, making it easier to carry around. It's also a lot more affordable than a DSLR, so if you're looking for a camera that's easy to use and doesn't require a lot of technical knowledge, then a point-and-shoot camera might be the right choice for you.

If you're looking for a camera that's more advanced than a point-and-shoot, then you might want to consider a mirrorless camera. These cameras offer a similar level of control and flexibility as a DSLR, but they're much smaller and lighter, making them easier to travel with. They also offer a wider range of lenses, allowing you to capture a variety of subjects from different angles and perspectives.

Finally, if you're looking for a camera that's specifically designed for action photography, then you might want to consider a camera like the Canon EOS R5 or the Nikon Z6. These cameras are built for speed and agility, and they offer a range of features that are designed to help you capture fast-moving subjects, such as sports or action shots. They also offer a range of lenses, allowing you to capture a variety of subjects from different angles and perspectives.

Overall, the best camera for you will depend on your specific needs and interests, but I hope this guide has helped you to find the right camera for your needs.

Remember, the best camera is the one that you feel most comfortable using, so don't be afraid to experiment and try out different cameras until you find the one that works best for you.

Good luck and happy shooting!

Best regards,
John

time. On August 5, 1533, the audiencia wrote the Emperor that they had received a letter from Quiroga saying that he had arrived in Michoacán and had started to check on certain irregularities.¹² The time required for the oidor to make the trip from Mexico to Michoacán, to gather enough information to write back to the audiencia, and to send the letter back to Mexico City, would very probably have exceeded a month. It may also be true that Quiroga's departure was the signal for the inspection of Santa Fe which the cabildo decreed on June 16, 1533.¹³ Quiroga, then, may very well not have known officially of López' complaints until he returned from Michoacán in 1534.

In his accusation in the residencia López also attempted to cast the blame for one of his own misdemeanors on Quiroga's Indian laborers. He said that he had seen them taking apart some buildings and the enclosing wall of Chapultepec and that they told him they were taking the stone to Santa Fe.¹⁴ Quiroga was quick to point out that it was López himself who had raided the wall and buildings of Chapultepec for stone when he was building an estancia for cattle in that neighborhood. For this, Quiroga says, López had received a reprimand from his own cabildo.¹⁵ The actas of the cabildo bear Quiroga out on this point. On September 11, 1534, López was commanded by the cabildo to rebuild within a month the

¹² La audiencia de México al Rey, 5 de agosto, 1533, ENE, III, 110-111.

¹³ AG, III, 41.

¹⁴ RSA, f. 157v.

¹⁵ Ibid., ff. 64, 289v.

• 811-811

wall of Chapultepec which he had caused to be torn down in order to build corrals. If López did not rebuild the wall to its previous condition within the allotted time, it would be rebuilt at his cost.¹⁶

As to López' accusation that the Indians were taking their houses apart in order to get adobes, Quiroga disclaimed any knowledge of it. He thought that they might have dismantled the adobe huts of some dead people, since they had the custom that when the master of the house died they would desert it, take it apart, and rebuild it in another place.¹⁷ He also maintained that they customarily carried along materials when they went to any job and that it did not do any good to tell them not to do so, since it was an ingrained custom and the group of workers changed so frequently that one could not tell all of them.¹⁸ Martín de Calahorra testified for Quiroga that the Indians were not accustomed to go to any work empty-handed.¹⁹

The bitterest criticisms of Quiroga's work to appear in the residencia were contained in a group of capitulos presented by Maestre de Roa and Rodrigo de Castañeda, citizens of Mexico City. They saw no value in the pueblo because there were more than enough monasteries in the area of the city to take care of instruction in the faith. They accused Quiroga of so favoring the Indians of Santa Fe that they mistreated other Indians with impunity and that any slave in the area felt

¹⁶ AC, III, 98.

¹⁷ RSA, f. 64v.

¹⁸ Ibid., f. 289

¹⁹ Aguayo Spencer, p. 419.

that he could find refuge in Santa Fe. They even went to the extent of calling Santa Fe a "castillo roquero y casa de mujeres." They complained also that Quiroga had cut off the water canal that had previously watered the farms and ranches in that area and that he had taken over much land around Santa Fe that belonged to Indians and Spaniards.²⁰ These accusations were so extreme that Licenciado Loaysa, the judge of residencia, did not even include them in his charges against Quiroga. The imputations of improper conduct to Quiroga and his Indians were amply contradicted by the witnesses for Quiroga's descargos, who included encomenderos, lawyers, friars, secular priests, and even the bishop of Mexico. Perhaps their attitude is best summed up in the words of Bachiller Juan Ortega, a man of extensive experience in Mexico: "a los que les parece mal [la obra de Santa Fe] no juzgan de buenos colores."²¹

Judge Loaysa, depending not only on the word of these witnesses but also on a personal visit to Santa Fe, agreed with their high opinion of Quiroga's project. On May 19, 1536, when he passed sentence on the charges brought against the oidores, he completely absolved Quiroga of any guilt in regard to Santa Fe, saying that it was a work of God, done for His service, and both profitable and necessary for the Indians.²²

Distinct from the residencia but connected with it was the suit of the Indians of Ocoyoacac against Quiroga over the island of Tultepec.

²⁰ RSA, ff. 601v-603v.

²¹ Aguayo Spencer, p. 420.

²² Ibid., pp. 453-454.

The suit was opened on March 1, 1536, when Don Pedro, cacique of Ocoyoacac, presented a complaint to Licenciado Loaysa concerning Quiroga's possession of the island. They complained that Quiroga had taken the island against their will, even though it lay within the area of their pueblo and they had possessed and used it from time immemorial. Because Quiroga was an oidor and a powerful personage, they had not dared to reclaim the island previously. They asked Loaysa to command Quiroga to return the island to them.

Quiroga in reply said that he had bought the island and possessed it by just titles and had given it to the Indians of Santa Fe to use for farming for the support of the pueblo. He had bought it also in order to establish an oratory there for the instruction of the Indians of Ocoyoacac. Although some of the Indians of the area had cultivated a piece of ground there, the inhabitants of Ocoyoacac itself had not made use of it because the maize frequently froze there, because it was next to estancias of cows and pigs belonging to Spaniards, and because the pueblo had an excess of better lands in other areas.²³

Unfortunately we do not know how the different parties attempted to establish their claims, since we have copies only of the two petitions and of the sentence. Quiroga's list of expenses for Santa Fe indicates that he paid forty mantas to the pueblo of Capulhuac for the island.²⁴ It is possible that the ownership of the island was disputed between Capulhuac and its neighbor, Ocoyoacac. Whatever the facts of

²³ Ibid., pp. 457-459.

²⁴ RSA, f. 452.

the case were, Loaysa awarded the decision to Quiroga on November 6, 1536.²⁵

Quiroga was thus vindicated in his residencia, but though his enemies were defeated they were not vanquished. The cabildo of Mexico City continued to snipe at Santa Fe during the rest of Quiroga's life and even after his death. On February 6, 1540, when they learned that the Indians of Santa Fe had established a fulling-mill, they immediately demanded that they show by what legal right they had done so. They threatened legal action if the pueblo did not show its título by the next meeting of the cabildo.²⁶ We have no information as to what followed upon this demand.

During the mid-1500's the City of Mexico was suing to get Santa Fe's royal grant of land revoked. Again we do not have the actual record of the suit, although we know from contemporary documents that it went on over a period of several years. The actas of the cabildo for January 12, 1554, state that on that day the members of the cabildo talked about the suit which the city was carrying on concerning what had been set aside for Santa Fe and its so-called hospital, which was so near to the city, and so prejudicial to its citizens and residents. They commanded Gonzalo Ruiz, regidor and procurador mayor of the city, to search out this suit and bring it before them.²⁷

²⁵ Aguayo Spencer, pp. 459-460.

²⁶ AC, IV, 188.

²⁷ Ibid., VI, 126.

In the course of a separate suit that Gonzalo Ruiz carried on with Quiroga and his Indians in 1556, he refers to the fact that the city had made a judicial appeal regarding the grant of lands to Santa Fe and that the suit over it was pending in the royal audiencia. He probably expressed the city's case in the sixth question of his interrogatory. He claimed that the land which the Indians held by reason of their grant was very extensive and most of it was not cultivated nor used, because they could not use it nor did they need it for their support. The city had been and was being harmed because this land had been adjudicated to Santa Fe and not divided among the Spaniards and cultivated for the provisioning of the city. The diocese was also losing tithes that it could have collected if the land were planted and the crops harvested. Quiroga's reply to this was that the lands of Santa Fe were nearly all under cultivation with due regard to changes according to the year.²⁸ This indicates that the Indians of Santa Fe were following the traditional agricultural practice of rotating the use of their land. Testimony by Alonso Hernández in Quiroga's suit with Martín Cortés in 1563 indicates that at that time some of the land of Santa Fe was being cultivated by outside farmers who took the rents to Quiroga.²⁹

Ruiz' interrogatory of 1556 repeated the old accusation that the Indians of Santa Fe, with Quiroga's protection, occupied lands that did not belong to them, but it must be remembered that this was part of a

²⁸ Quiroga vs. Gonzalo Ruiz (folios not numbered).

²⁹ Quiroga vs. Martín Cortés, f. 190.

suit against Ruiz for occupying lands of Santa Fe. According to Ruiz the pueblo was harmful to the city, and had even been called a den of thieves. The Indians came to it from towns belonging to the crown or from towns that paid tribute to their encomenderos, because in Santa Fe they did not have to pay tribute and all were rich. Slaves who fled from their masters were given asylum there.³⁰ Thus, the main complaints of the City of Mexico seem to have been that they could not get their hands on the lands of Santa Fe to divide it among the Spaniards, that Indians were going there because they were protected from a heavy burden of tribute, and that slaves were escaping to the pueblo for protection. Such complaints must have indicated to Quiroga a degree of success in his work.

The struggle with the City of Mexico was still unsettled in 1563, but had apparently been allowed to lie dormant for some time. On January 29, 1563, the cabildo instructed its procurador mayor to ask the audiencia for the proceso which the city had carried on with the bishop of Michoacán over Santa Fe so that the cabildo could decide what provisions to make for the good of the city.³¹ On May 24, 1563, in an instruction sent to its attorneys in Spain, the city asked the King to return the lands of Santa Fe to the city so that they would not fall into the hands of a third party after Quiroga's death. They made it appear as though they were looking out for the good of the little town

³⁰Quiroga vs. Gonzalo Ruiz.

³¹AC, VII, 103.

and a number of additional indications will assist teachers firms
to make better use of their money, and will be informative and valuable
to persons who are engaged in the study of our industry. Several
of these are now well known, especially concerning the time when
the business is to be started, the amount of capital required, the
kind of equipment needed, the cost of labor, the cost of
rent, the cost of supplies, and so on. These are all very
important factors in determining the success or failure of
any business. In addition to these, there are other
factors which are equally important, such as the
character of the market, the cost of transportation, the
cost of labor, the cost of supplies, and so on. These are all
very important factors in determining the success or failure of
any business.

In the first place, it is important to have a good market. This
means that there must be a demand for the product, and that
the product must be wanted by the people. It is also important
to have a good supply of labor. This means that there
must be enough labor available to meet the demand for
the product. It is also important to have a good supply of
supplies. This means that there must be enough raw
material available to meet the demand for the product.
It is also important to have a good supply of labor. This
means that there must be enough labor available to meet the
demand for the product. It is also important to have a good
supply of supplies. This means that there must be enough raw
material available to meet the demand for the product.

These are some of the most important

of the factors which are important in

of Santa Fe.³² Nothing seems to have come of this petition. This is the last indication of an attempt against Santa Fe by the City of Mexico during Quiroga's lifetime, although, as we shall see in a later chapter, they returned to the fray after his death. During the last two years of Quiroga's life both he and the city turned their efforts toward repelling the excessive claims of Martín Cortés.

On December 9, 1556, Gonzalo Ruiz, acting as a regidor and citizen of Mexico City, also brought suit against Quiroga, claiming that the bishop was treating the pueblo as a thing of his own and that the Indians of the pueblo were living exempt from tribute. He called on the fiscal of the audiencia to take his side in the suit because it was a matter pertaining to royal income and jurisdiction. Quiroga, who was in Mexico City at this time and signed the answer given by his attorney, maintained that Ruiz could not make such a denunciation, acting as one of the populace, because he was already involved in a criminal suit with the Indians of Santa Fe for having commanded his son to force the Indians off a piece of their land. Quiroga presented in his defense a copy of certain items from his residencia--the charge relative to Santa Fe, his questions thirty-three through thirty-seven, the answers of the witnesses, and the sentence--together with various decrees of royal approval for Santa Fe. By this he wished to show that his work in Santa Fe had already been given a favorable judgment at the time of his residencia and should not now be brought back into court. He also maintained that the fiscal should rather take his side of the case by supporting what the

³² Ibid., pp. 119-120.

crown had commanded in regard to Santa Fe. He accused Ruiz of not being interested in doing good for the Indians but rather in wearing them down to the quick, forcing them to the mountains by his estancias of pigs and other livestock, and taking and occupying the lands which the King had granted them.

The fiscal, having read Quiroga's documents, maintained that the nature of the pueblo had changed since the time of Quiroga's residencia and that he could not continue to hold it when it had become a large, self-supporting pueblo of more than three hundred vecinos. The audiencia, however, on January 19, 1557, decreed that the case was not to be brought to trial. Ruiz and the fiscal appealed this decision to the Council of the Indies, where the case was presented by the fiscal of the Council on June 21, 1558. There is no indication as to what action was taken by the Council.³³

As proof of his contention that Ruiz' denunciation of Santa Fe should not be accepted, Quiroga presented some petitions and Ruiz' interrogatory from the criminal suit between Ruiz and the Indians of Santa Fe. These documents show us one of several instances in which Spanish neighbors of Santa Fe attempted to chip off parts of the lands of the pueblo. They also demonstrate that there were some personal interests involved in the long-lasting differences between Santa Fe and the City of Mexico. The dispute concerned a hillock of land on the plains of Chapultepec where the lands of Gonzalo Ruiz bordered on those of Santa Fe. Ruiz claimed the piece of land was small, possibly "diez

³³Quiroga vs. Gonzalo Ruiz.

fanegas de sembradura." Ruiz claimed to hold the land by reason of a grant made by Viceroy Mendoza to Pedro de Villegas in 1546. Villegas had sold the land to Diego Tristán, who in turn had sold it to Ruiz.³⁴ All three of these men were connected for many years with the cabildo of Mexico City, Villegas and Ruiz as regidores and Tristán as scribe.³⁵ In 1553, when Ruiz already claimed possession of the land and was cultivating it, the Indians complained to the audiencia that it belonged to them. Doctor Herrera, an oidor, was sent to examine the question and, according to Ruiz, he decided against the Indians and upbraided Father Pedro Hernández, their chaplain and attorney, for contending over such a small piece of ground when they had so much.³⁶

Most of this had happened while Quiroga was absent from Mexico between 1547 and 1554.³⁷ When it came to his knowledge after his return he must have decided on a stronger stand. Ruiz claimed that one day in July of 1556, while his Negro slaves were plowing the piece of ground, many Indians from Santa Fe, together with two secular clergy and some servants of Quiroga, came and forced Ruiz' servants to leave. They brought their own oxen and plows and began plowing. When this happened Ruiz was sick in bed, but he sent his son Francisco to drive the Indians off the land. When the Indians refused to leave, Francisco had their oxen and plows taken from them and he put them in his own corrals. In

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ AC, II-VI, passim.

³⁶ Quiroga vs. Gonzalo Ruiz.

³⁷ León, Quiroga, p. 54.

the accompanying disturbance, Ruiz struck one of the Indians with a rod because the Indian would not leave the land. When this Indian started to throw a stone at Ruiz, he struck him on the nose with his rod. Ruiz admitted this much in his own interrogatory, which undoubtedly minimized the amount of injury done to the Indians.

The Indians presented a complaint before the audiencia on the day after the fracas. They said that on the previous day, Friday, July 18, while they were plowing on lands within the boundary markers of Santa Fe, Francisco Ruiz, with the help of his Negroes, had maltreated, caned and wounded them, even drawing blood. He had carried off their oxen and plows and still had them. They requested the execution of civil and criminal penalties against the guilty parties and against those who had given them advice, favor, and help. Francisco Ruiz and the Negro slaves were arrested and imprisoned. The audiencia commanded Gonzalo Ruiz to return the oxen and plows to the Indians, which he did.³⁸

This suit, again, is one of which we do not know the outcome, since it was not finished at the time when Quiroga had a copy made of parts of it. It does, however, show us some of the reasons why the cabildo would have liked to take the Indians of Santa Fe from Quiroga's protection and also the tenacity with which Quiroga maintained the rights of his pueblo down to the last corner of land.

Two other instances of cutting in on the pueblo lands occurred at this period. They make it appear that whoever was left in charge of Santa Fe while Quiroga was in Spain was not very careful about minding

³⁸Quiroga vs. Gonzalo Ruiz.

his fences. Our information regarding these incidents is quite scanty.

On January 23, 1553, Bernaldino del Castillo was commissioned by the viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, to check on a request by Luis de León Romano that he be granted a certain area along the boundary between Santa Fe and Cuyuacán for an estancia of goats. Castillo was to take information from the Indians and others concerned to see if the grant would be prejudicial to anyone.³⁹ According to later testimony by Castillo, León Romano had already established his estancia on the lands in question when Velasco gave the commission. Juan Gallego, who accompanied Castillo as interpreter, and Bartolomé Alguacil, who was also commissioned by the viceroy to look into the matter, both stated that the estancia of goats was already on the land. Castillo and Alguacil reported to the viceroy that the estancia was on land of the hospital, and León Romano was forced to withdraw his animals toward Cuyuacán.⁴⁰

A decision in a similar case was given by Viceroy Velasco on September 4, 1556. Bartolomé Fontana had been granted a caballería of land which the Indians of Santa Fe claimed was within the boundaries of their pueblo. Antonio de Luna, alcalde mayor of the valley of Toluca, had made an inquiry into the dispute and had sent it, together with his own declaration, to the viceroy, who suspended the grant. Pedro Rodríguez Parrón, who had gone with the original group to mark off the grant of lands for Santa Fe, was commanded to check the boundary landmarks of the pueblo and see how much of Fontana's grant fell within its

³⁹ Quiroga vs. Martín Cortés, ff. 321v-322.

⁴⁰ Ibid., ff. 192, 193v, 194.

boundaries.⁴¹

These constant disturbances of the peaceful operation of the pueblo must have been a source of continual headaches for Quiroga, but none of them was as great as that caused by the return to Mexico of the second Marqués del Valle, Don Martín Cortés. The young Cortés inherited all of his father's pride and ambition, but evinced little of his greatness, particularly in relation to the hospital-pueblo of Santa Fe. His arrival in Mexico City in late 1562 or early 1563 caused serious concern to many people in Mexico, because he carried with him a grant of Philip II which conceded to him jurisdiction over the twenty-two towns which had been claimed by his father for his marquisate, regardless of the number of vassals contained in them. Evidence of worry on the part of the cabildo is seen in the fact that on January 22, 1563, they discussed his arrival and instructed their attorney to request a copy of Cortés' grant and to pursue the matter as he should find it necessary.⁴² The cause for the cabildo's concern went back as far as the early 1530's. On November 3, 1532, the Audiencia of Mexico had written to the Empress that a dispute had arisen between the City of Mexico and the Marqués del Valle over certain land which Nuño Guzmán and the regidores had set aside as ejido, or commons. Part of it lay within the bounds of Cuyuacán, which the Marqués held in encomienda, and he was cultivating certain lands that were included in the ejido. The city had asked the audiencia to command the Marqués not to occupy

⁴¹Quiroga vs. Martín Cortés, ff. 24-24v; León, Documentos, p. 3.

⁴²AC, VII, 102.

those lands and to instruct the Indians who had their houses and fields in the ejido to leave the land and tear down their houses. The city had already torn down some houses. The Indians of Cuyuacán had asked that their lands should not be taken from them, and the Marqués was defending their side of the dispute.⁴³ Little wonder, then, that the city was concerned when the young Marqués presented himself in New Spain with a royal cedula which granted him the towns of Cuyuacán and Tacubaya, not merely as encomiendas but as part of his marquisate.⁴⁴ This was also reason for concern for Quiroga and his Indians of Santa Fe. The land that had been granted to Quiroga for his pueblo lay on the edge of land that was cultivated by the Indians of Cuyuacán and may have been part of the originally disputed area.⁴⁵ Since the young Marqués contended that the jurisdiction of Cuyuacán and Tacubaya included the ejidos of Mexico City and extended up to the houses of the city itself,⁴⁶ Quiroga's pueblo was definitely within disputed territory.

The Marqués was officially given possession of Cuyuacán and Tacubaya on February 24, 1563.⁴⁷ For some time the significance of this act in relation to the pueblo of Santa Fe did not become evident. On July 17, 1563, however, the Marqués began to show his hand in Santa Fe.

⁴³ La audiencia de México a la Emperatriz, 3 de noviembre, 1532, ENE, II, 220.

⁴⁴ Quiroga vs. Martín Cortés, ff. 135-152v.

⁴⁵ León, Documentos, p. 2.

⁴⁶ AC, VII, 182.

⁴⁷ Quiroga vs. Martín Cortés, ff. 195-198v, 51-77.

He came to the pueblo with Alonso Núñez, scribe and notary public, and called before him Diego Quaotli and Pedro Eco, alguaciles of the pueblo, and through interpreters asked them by whose authority they carried their rods of justice. When they answered that they carried them by the authority of the viceroy and the royal audiencia, he told them that henceforth they should carry their rods of justice by the authority of the Marqués del Valle. This all took place in the presence of Bishop Quiroga.⁴⁸

At this time the bishop, who was nearly ninety years old or older, was in Santa Fe convalescing from an illness.⁴⁹ But if the Marqués thought that for that reason he would be any less vigorous in the defense of the rights of the pueblo, he badly misjudged the character of his opponent. Quiroga immediately denied Cortés' contention that Santa Fe fell within the jurisdiction of Cuyuacán and Tacubaya. He said that if the Marqués had jurisdiction in the two towns, it was something of recent origin, whereas Santa Fe had maintained its own officers of justice for more than thirty years by authority of the audiencia of New Spain. They could not be deprived of this right merely by the action of the Marqués without being heard in court. The Marqués should go before the audiencia and seek justice there, and the hospital, the bishop, and the audiencia, which had given the rods of justice, would answer him, because at the time that Santa Fe's lands were granted it was verified that they were not within limits of Cortés' two towns.

⁴⁸ Ibid., f. 128v.

⁴⁹ Ibid., f. 12.

The Marqués answered that he was merely continuing the acts of possession of the towns granted him and that Quiroga was going against the express will of His Majesty. Then he called Pedro de San Lázaro, principal of the pueblo, and gave him a rod of justice which he was to carry by authority of the Marqués and subject to the jurisdiction of Cuyuacán and Tacubaya. He did not take the rods from the alguaciles, out of respect for the viceroy and audiencia, and he would not do so until the question was decided by the audiencia.

Quiroga then protested against Cortés' rod of justice and said that he would not consent to it, even to the extent of breaking it. He promised to take the case to the audiencia so that they would rectify the violence that was being done to Santa Fe.⁵⁰

Word of this head-on meeting between the Marqués and Quiroga soon reached Mexico City. On July 19 the cabildo discussed the differences that had arisen between the bishop and the Marqués and commanded their procurador mayor to enter the case and defend the rights of the city,⁵¹ which had for so long contended that it should have the control of the pueblo.

Quiroga's lawyer, Juan de Salazar, presented the complaint of the bishop and the Indians of Santa Fe before the audiencia on July 21, 1563. With it he presented the various royal letters of protection for the pueblo and the mandate by which Viceroy Luis de Velasco had placed in office the most recent pair of alguacils in Santa Fe. He

⁵⁰ Ibid., ff. 128v-130v.

⁵¹ AC, VII, 130.

asked that the sanctions of the pueblo be announced by the crier so that no one could feign ignorance.⁵²

But this action did not prevent the Marqués from proceeding in his efforts to assert control over Santa Fe. On July 27, 1563, Jorge Cerón Saavedra, alcalde mayor for the Marqués in Cuyuacán and Tacubaya, came along the highway with his rod of justice and entered Santa Fe with it until he came to the house of the bishop. Quiroga told him that he could not carry his rod of justice in Santa Fe and that they would break it for him if he pretended that he had jurisdiction here. Quiroga would give notice of the occurrence to the president and oidores, who would not allow him to make such innovations within the land and jurisdiction of His Majesty.

On the same day the alcalde mayor went to the inn of the hospital, which had been established by permission of Viceroy Mendoza in 1542. He attempted to exercise jurisdiction there also by commanding the alcaldes and regidores of the pueblo to provide necessary food for the travelers who would pass by that way. He had a copy of this provision attached to the door of the inn. This was immediately pulled down and sent, torn, to Viceroy Velasco, so that he would put an end to such harassments.⁵³

But the Marqués continued to disturb the little pueblo in his attempt to establish his jurisdiction over it. On August 14, 1563, Juan de Salazar complained to the audiencia that the Marqués had given

⁵²Quiroga vs. Martín Cortés, ff. 1-2v.

⁵³Ibid., ff. 12-13v, 174v, 23-23v.

Jorge Cerón a piece of land within the boundaries of Santa Fe in the place where Luis de León Romano had previously attempted to found an estancia. Cerón had plowed the land and was ready to plant when the Indians of Santa Fe found out about it and undid what Cerón had done.⁵⁴ On August 19, Cerón again entered Santa Fe, acting as alcalde mayor, and made an inquiry concerning a crime of certain Negroes, mulattoes, and Indians who were said to be there.⁵⁵ In Cuyuacán on August 24, Cortés presented a petition to Doctor Zorita, oidor of the audiencia, who had been sent to count Cortés' vassals. He reminded Zorita that the Indians of Santa Fe had been neglected in the count of his vassals and requested him to count them. Zorita determined that representatives of Santa Fe should be cited and an inquiry should be made. He came to Santa Fe on August 30 and notified some of the Indians of this decision. Bishop Quiroga came forward to answer him. By this time the suit between Quiroga and Martín Cortés was already under way in the audiencia, and Quiroga told Zorita that the suit over this dispute was already pending before court and witnesses were being heard in regard to it. Questions related to the dispute should be dealt with before the audiencia and not anywhere else.⁵⁶

The suit now branched in two directions: the one treated the question of ownership of the piece of land granted by the Marqués to Jorge Cerón, while the other dealt with the more basic problem of the

⁵⁴ Ibid., ff. 122v-123v.

⁵⁵ Ibid., ff. 174v-175.

⁵⁶ Ibid., ff. 153v-154v.

to do that is to find the untrained eye which tends to see in a moral regard
what has no place in the field of aesthetic enjoyment and cannot stand outside
of the domain of art. In this case, however, one finds art honest and sincere and above
all else, it is not born merely to tell us what is true in the world of sense
but also to make us realize that there is a place between these two poles
of art and life, a place where art must be willing to give up its supremacy
and to yield to the world of life. This is not to say that art has no right to exist
in its own right, but that it must be willing to admit that there is another
kind of right than its own, another kind of truth which is not to be
found in the world of art, but in the world of life. This is not to say
that art has no right to exist, but that it must be willing to admit that there
is another kind of truth which is not to be found in the world of art,
but in the world of life. This is not to say that art has no right to exist,
but that it must be willing to admit that there is another kind of truth
which is not to be found in the world of art, but in the world of life.

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jurisdiction over Santa Fe.⁵⁷ The question of ownership was a comparatively simple problem to solve. In early September witnesses were interrogated for the side of Santa Fe. No witnesses were presented for this dispute by the party of the Marqués. On December 1, 1563, the audiencia pronounced a decision in the case, commanding that the land remain in the possession of the Indians.

On the other hand, the question of jurisdiction was a much more thorny problem. Since it involved a conflict of royal jurisdiction with the private jurisdiction of the Marqués, the fiscal of the audiencia was given a copy of Quiroga's complaints and he entered the case on Quiroga's side to protect the rights of the crown. The party of Santa Fe and the fiscal requested that a summary examination of witnesses and an interim decision be made first so as to protect the rights of the litigants while the case went on to full proof. On August 25, 1563, the audiencia decreed that an examination of witnesses should be made within six days, the fiscal and the Marqués each to present five witnesses and Doctor Ceinos, oidor of the audiencia, to examine five witnesses de oficio. The time limit was later extended for four days.

The Marqués attempted to prove that before Quiroga built Santa Fe the area had been within the jurisdiction of Tacubaya and Cuyuacán and had been occupied by Indians of those towns, whom Quiroga had forced to leave the land. He also maintained that after the founding of Santa Fe the alcaldes and alguaciles from the other two towns had enforced

⁵⁷ Since the following pages will be devoted to the course of the suit in general, citations of specific folios in the manuscript will not be given.

justice there, but his witnesses gave him little support on this point. He claimed, moreover, that since he had taken possession of Tacubaya and Cuyuacán his alcalde mayor had exercised jurisdiction in Santa Fe.

The fiscal attempted to show the jurisdiction of the audiencia over Santa Fe from the fact that Viceroy Mendoza and Velasco had always given mandates to the alguaciles of the pueblo and that lands in the area of Santa Fe had always been distributed by the oidores of the audiencia. Don Hernando Cortés had acknowledged that Santa Fe was in the district of Tacuba and as such it was commonly reputed. Customarily the subject towns in New Spain had alguaciles appointed from the head towns, but Santa Fe had always elected its own alguaciles and had never been given them by Tacubaya and Cuyuacán.

After the witnesses had been heard the audiencia gave an interim decision on September 12, 1563. They declared that until a final decision should be made in the principal cause and without prejudice to the rights of either party, they sanctioned the right of the fiscal and the Indians of Santa Fe to keep ministers of justice in the pueblo in spite of the acts of jurisdiction on the part of the Marqués.

Álvaro Ruiz, attorney for the Marqués, opened the second phase of the suit on January 11, 1564. This new phase was an attempt to gain jurisdiction over Santa Fe by legal action before the audiencia. On March 17, 1564, the audiencia decreed that a full examination of witnesses be made in the case. This time the efforts of the Marqués were concentrated on one point--to prove that Santa Fe was included within the boundaries of Cuyuacán and Tacubaya. For this purpose he called thirty-four witnesses, all but four of whom were elderly Indians. He asked them only

four questions, all of them concerning the boundaries of Tacubaya and Cuyuacán and the fact that Santa Fe lay within them.

The party of the second part, Santa Fe and the fiscal, this time leveled a hard-hitting attack against the Marqués' grant itself. They maintained that Don Hernando Cortés had never held jurisdictional rights over Cuyuacán, Tacubaya, Toluca, and the Valley of Matalcingo but had held them merely as encomiendas, having renounced them as part of his marquisate in order to keep others that he preferred when he was limited to 23,000 vassals. Martín Cortés, they asserted, had gotten his grant under false pretenses, having made his holdings seem smaller than they actually were and leading the crown to believe that these encomienda towns were a part of his marquisate. This grant worked a hardship on the City of Mexico and was prejudicial to the five leagues of jurisdiction round about that belonged to the city and the audiencia, and it should be appealed. Moreover, this new grant was not intended to be prejudicial to a grant as long-standing as that which Quiroga held. Quiroga's lawyer also maintained that the area of Santa Fe had never been under the jurisdiction of the surrounding towns, even in pre-Spanish times, because it was a district of great cues, or temples, which were not subject to the jurisdiction of the towns.

This second phase of the suit was declared concluded on December 7, 1564, but the audiencia apparently never passed sentence on it. On October 5, 1565, the fiscal presented a royal cedula dated in Valladolid on May 6 of that year. It commanded that all suits arising from the grant to the Marqués del Valle should be submitted to the Council of the

This is to say, to everything and anything said to his smitten soul
about him in the press and social media, he has responded
with a smile, and has no time for a moment of self pity.
But, I must admit, I am still a little bit worried about his behavior
towards his mother, who is not only a victim of domestic and child beatings
but also a victim of a disease that has left her disabled, confused and
alone. In fact, I am still awaiting an update from the system with regard
to the welfare of my mother-in-law, and I am afraid that she may have
fallen into the hands of some unscrupulous people who have taken advantage
of her disability to abuse her. I hope that you will take a closer look at
my concerns, and do your best to ensure that she receives the
best care possible. Thank you for your attention and support.
I am looking forward to your response.
Yours sincerely,
[Signature]
[Address]

2023-01-15
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Indies. A notation on the first page of one of the copies of the suit between Quiroga and Martín Cortés in the Archive of the Indies indicates that the suit had not been followed up since it was received in 1567. Both of the principal litigants had more important things to attend to. Bishop Quiroga was called to his eternal reward early in 1565.⁵⁸ The Marqués allowed his ambitions to lead him too far and was disgraced in 1566 for his alleged complicity in the Cortés-Ávila conspiracy.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Moreno, p. 132.

⁵⁹ José Bravo Ugarte, Historia de México. Vol II: La Nueva España (3rd ed. rev. México, 1953), pp. 268-272.

CHAPTER VI

MICHOACÁN AND THE FOUNDING OF SANTA FE DE LA LAGUNA

Having followed the history of Santa Fe de México from its founding to the time of Quiroga's death, we will now turn our attention to the development of Quiroga's foundation in Michoacán during the same period. Since the history of Michoacán for the period of the conquest has been the subject of many inaccuracies, we will review it here on the basis of a study of contemporary documents.¹

The area of Michoacán at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in Mexico was an autonomous kingdom under the control of a tribe of Indians who were to become known to the Spaniards as the Tarascos. They were ruled by hereditary kings to whom they gave the honorific title of Cazonci. Under the leadership of a vigorous line of kings the Tarascans had managed to maintain independence against the military might of the Aztec empire and had on several occasions beaten back large forces sent from the Valley of Mexico to subdue them. The Cazonci was not only king

¹For this summary of the history of the conquest in Michoacán, I will depend mainly on research done for my Master's thesis, for which I had access to a considerable amount of unpublished material from the archives of Spain and Mexico in the possession of Professor France V. Scholes. Cf. Fintan Warren, "The Conquest of Michoacán, 1521-1530" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1960). This work, which is being revised for publication, will constitute the source for the following few pages, except where otherwise noted.

but high-priest. As such his principal duty was to maintain a constant fire burning in honor of the chief god of the Tarascans, Curicaueri, a god of fire and the sun. The Cazonci was also one of the áxame, those whose office it was to extract the hearts of sacrificial victims and offer them to the sun. On some of the principal feasts the Cazonci and certain of his higher nobles would also do ritualistic dances in the flayed skins of the sacrificial victims. The Tarascans also practiced ritual drunkenness and blood-letting. Their marriage customs allowed polygyny and marriage within close degrees of relationship.

The kingdom of Michoacán at the time of the Spanish conquest comprised roughly the same area as the present Mexican State of Michoacán, although it apparently controlled very little of the area along the coast. The Tarascan monarchs had over the course of time accumulated considerable amounts of gold and silver, most of which was dedicated to the honor of their gods. The source of this wealth lay not within the central plateau area of Michoacán proper, which is a young volcanic area, but in the deep-cut gorges to the west and south of the plateau, where older, mineral-bearing strata were revealed.

When the Spaniards under Hernando Cortés appeared on the scene in Mexico and began to press demands against the Aztec empire, Montezuma sent ambassadors to Michoacán to request the aid of that kingdom. His embassies did not have any success, but in the course of the exchange deadly smallpox germs were carried to Michoacán, causing an epidemic which brought death to Zuangua, the ruling Cazonci, and to many of his principal advisers. Zuangua's son, Tzintzicha Tangaxcan, assumed the

the first time in the history of the world that
the people of the United States have been called
to bear arms in defense of their country. They
have done so nobly, and with a spirit of self-sacrifice
and devotion to their country which will go down
in history as one of the greatest achievements of
any nation. The victory of the Union over the
Confederacy has been won at a great cost, but it
has been won, and the Union is safe. The
people of the United States have shown that they
are willing to sacrifice all for their country, and
that they will not be easily overcome. The
victory of the Union over the Confederacy
will be remembered by all posterity, and will
be a source of pride and inspiration to the
people of the United States for many years to come.

reins of power and, after the defeat of the Aztecs by the Spaniards, approached Cortés through ambassadors, offering peaceful submission to the king of Spain.

A few Spaniards had already begun to enter Michoacán. The first one was a Spanish soldier named Porrillas, who ventured into some of the frontier towns while searching for provisions for Cortés' army. The first official contact was made by a group of three Spaniards headed by Antonio Caicedo, who were sent by Cortés to the Cazonci soon after the fall of Tenochtitlán. They visited the native king in his capital of Tzintzuntzan and returned to Cortés with gifts, which were turned over to the royal treasurer on November 18, 1521.

In the summer of 1522 a large expedition of Spaniards, under the leadership of Captain Cristóbal de Olid, was sent to Michoacán to occupy and colonize the area. Although the Cazonci had prepared a large force for resisting the Spaniards, he capitulated peacefully and Olid's forces entered the Tarascan capital on the feast of Santiago, July 25, 1522.² The Spaniards obtained a considerable amount of booty from the royal treasures, but they did not find the Michoacán area satisfactory for colonization. In the late fall they were ordered by Cortés to leave the area and either return to Mexico City or proceed to Zacatula. The force split up, part returning to Mexico City with Olid, the rest going to Zacatula under Juan Rodríguez de Villafuerte.

²Dos probanzas de los méritos y servicios de Cristóbal de Mendoza: Testimonio de Pedro de Vargas (1544) y Juan Muñoz (1560) conquistadores de Michoacán, AGI, Patronato, leg. 63, ramo 18.

The Cazonci remained friendly toward the Spaniards, at least externally, and visited Cortés on occasion. On the first of these visits Cortés informed him that he should stop receiving tribute from the towns of his kingdom, since they were to be distributed among the Spaniards as encomiendas. Preparatory to the distribution Antonio de Carvajal was sent into Michoacán to list the pueblos and indicate the size of each. He was occupied in this survey during late 1523³ and early 1524. After he returned to Mexico the first grants of encomienda were made, mainly during the summer of 1524. Cortés took for himself Tzintzuntzan, the capital, and several other rich encomiendas.

Because of disturbed political conditions in New Spain during the middle and late 1520's, the history of the encomiendas in Michoacán presents a very confused picture. Encomiendas distributed by one group in power would be canceled and redistributed by those who followed them. Out of this arose many lawsuits, some of which continued during the whole lifetime of the encomenderos. Some of these lawsuits which the author has examined in Sevilla indicate that some pueblos changed hands as much as three times during the first ten years after they had been distributed.

The encomiendas in Michoacán were of interest to the Spaniards at this time mainly as sources of provisions for the mines in the lower elevations. They supplied maize, beans, and other necessities for the gangs of Indian slaves who worked the gold-pannings for the Spaniards.

³Francisco de Villegas, vecino de México, con Juan Infante de la misma vecindad, sobre el pueblo de Capaqueró, 1541, AGI, Justicia, leg. 138.

the 1990s, and the 1990s were a time of significant political change in the country. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, followed by the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, brought about major changes in the political landscape. The former communist party, the SED, was disbanded, and its members joined the new German Democratic Party (DDR). The former East German state, which had been a part of the Federal Republic of Germany since 1949, became a separate entity again. The former East German economy, which had been based on a planned economy, was transformed into a market economy. The former East German government, which had been controlled by the SED, was replaced by a coalition government led by the CDU and the FDP. The former East German state, which had been a part of the Federal Republic of Germany since 1949, became a separate entity again. The former East German economy, which had been based on a planned economy, was transformed into a market economy. The former East German government, which had been controlled by the SED, was replaced by a coalition government led by the CDU and the FDP.

They also supplied the bearers for these provisions at this time when the human back was still the most easily obtained cargo-carrier in New Spain.

Because of heavy pressures on the natives by the encomenderos and the unsettled relationship between the Spaniards and the Indian nobility, the 1520's were a period of constant unrest in Michoacán. There were undoubtedly all too many cases of brutality on the part of Spanish gold-seekers. The Indians retaliated with the same kind of treatment. Punitive expeditions were sent out by the government in Mexico City to bring the Indians into submission. Pedro Sánchez Farfán was active in the Motín, or far western section of Michoacán, probably during 1526. In 1528 Bachiller Juan de Ortega led a fairly large military expedition into Michoacán to bring the Indians into submission. He estimated that sixty to seventy Spaniards had been killed by the Indians in Michoacán. He brought a degree of quiet to the region by severity toward both Spanish and Indian offenders and by regulating the burden of tribute that could be placed on the Indians.⁴

The mission program had in the meantime gotten under way in Michoacán. Probably in June 1525 the Cazonci sent the sons of some of his principales to study with the Franciscans in Mexico City. Sometime the same year he personally requested and was granted missionaries for his people. He himself was baptized while in Mexico City or soon after returning to Michoacán. Accompanying him on his return to his native

⁴ Alonso de Mata, vecino de la Ciudad de los Angeles, con el Bachiller Juan Ortega y Francisco de Santa Cruz sobre derecho a una encomienda de indios, 1541, AGI, Justicia, leg. 135, no. 3.

land were two Franciscan friars, Fray Martín de Jesús de la Coruña and Fray Antonio Ortiz, with perhaps one or two other companions. Fray Martín became the leader of the missionary effort in the Michoacán-Jalisco area. Fray Antonio does not seem to have stayed in Michoacán for very long. These first missionaries began their work in a humble church and friary which were constructed for them at the command of the Cazonci. The natives were attracted by the poor and humble way of life of the friars. They saw a great contrast between the lives of the friars and those of the conquistadores and colonists. On the other hand, the native priestly caste saw in the friars a threat to their own position. They spread malicious rumors about the friars and the Christian religion; apparently only the favor of the Cazonci prevented the friars from suffering physical harm.

The progress of the missionaries was slow. At first they were very few in number and were able to work only in the area of Lake Pátzcuaro. The response to their work was so poor that they twice deserted Michoacán. Gradually, however, their numbers increased, as some of the other truly great figures of the mission history of Michoacán began to arrive. In late 1527 or early 1528 Fray Martín brought with him to Michoacán Fray Ángel de Salcedo, Fray Jerónimo, Fray Juan de Badía or Badillo, and Fray Juan de Padilla. Also toward the end of the 1520's, came Fray Juan de San Miguel, one of the greatest names in the spread of Christianity in the Tarascan area.

The religious chroniclers of Michoacán have given the impression that paganism and idolatry withered away almost immediately upon contact

with the missionaries. But the contemporary documents do not support this idea. Adoration of the ancient gods continued in secret, apparently with the consent and co-operation of the Cazonci. There were even instances of human sacrifice, in some of which the victims were Spaniards.

When Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán came to Mexico as presidente of the First Audiencia in December 1528, it was the sign for the beginning of disturbing changes in Michoacán. Guzmán and the audiencia sent to Michoacán as justicia, or chief official of the civil government, an ex-muleteer named Antonio de Godoy. In May 1529 Godoy was commanded to take away Cortés' encomiendas of Tzintzuntzan and Tamazula, the latter a rich silver-mining area. Nominally these towns were placed under authority of the crown, but in reality Guzmán used them for his own silver-mining projects. The encomienda towns of some of Cortés' friends were likewise taken from them at this time.

The Cazonci was also to feel the weight of Guzmán's hand. Soon after his arrival in Mexico the presidente summoned all of the important caciques to his presence and demanded that they bring him gifts. The Cazonci was among those summoned, and since he was probably the most important native leader still living, Guzmán expected much of him. When the Tarascan leader did not bring enough treasure to satisfy the greedy Spaniard, Guzmán commanded that he be kept under arrest in Mexico City until sufficient gold and silver should be brought. At sometime during the summer of 1529 Guzmán was satisfied, and the Cazonci was allowed to return to his own land. But toward the end of August Guzmán once more commanded that the Tarascan chief be brought to him. At this time Guzmán

was planning an expedition to the northwest, which would take him through Michoacán. He kept the Cazonci prisoner during the four months prior to his expedition, but he sent Don Pedro, the Cazonci's chief advisor, back to Michoacán to oversee the provisioning of his slaves in the mines, to prepare armor of the Indian style, and to collect gold and silver.

Shortly before Christmas 1529 Guzmán's expedition left Mexico City to undertake the conquest of the New Galicia area. The Cazonci accompanied him under guard. Their first lengthy stop was in Michoacán, where the army laid over for several days in Tzintzuntzan for provisions. The gold and silver that Don Pedro had collected was taken to Guzmán who was quite dissatisfied with the amount and upbraided Don Pedro about it.⁵

In Tzintzuntzan accusations were brought against the Cazonci by Francisco de Villegas, encomendero of Uruapan, to the effect that the Indian king had interfered with the free operation of the encomiendas and that he had been responsible for the murder of many Spaniards. Guzmán made a summary investigation of these charges in Tzintzuntzan before moving on to the north. He continued the trial on the banks of the Río Lerma at a ford somewhere north of the pueblo of Puruándiro. Here the Cazonci was accused of having relapsed into idolatry and paganism after his baptism, even to the extent of dancing in the flayed skins

⁵ El Gobernador Nuñó de Guzmán con el fiscal sobre cantidad de 6000 pesos en que fue condenado por el presidente y oidores de México por otros tantos que, sin orden de Su Majestad, había o suponía haber gastado en la conquista de los Teules Chichimecas, 1531, AGI, Justicia, leg. 186, no. 4.

of Spaniards, and of preparing an ambush for Guzmán's army in the area ahead of them. The main witness against the Cazonci was Don Pedro, his closest adviser. The Cazonci and his close associates were subjected to severe torture by which Guzmán obtained sufficient evidence to condemn the Tarascan leader. On February 14, 1530, the Cazonci was condemned to death by burning, and on the same day he was strangled and burned.⁶ Although chroniclers of a later period accused Guzmán of having made a holocaust of the principal Tarascan leaders, contemporary records indicate that only the Cazonci was killed.

Guzmán moved on to the north, leaving Michoacán in a state of turmoil. He took with him large numbers of Tarascans as warriors and burden-bearers.⁷ He continued for some time to hold as prisoners the most important lords of Michoacán, probably using them as hostages against any possible uprising after the Cazonci's execution.

But even after the coming of the Second Audiencia, with all its good intentions, a stable peace was slow in coming to Michoacán. The Tarascan capital, called variously Tzintzuntzan, Uchihila, and City of Michoacán, had been made into a corregimiento by the First Audiencia and constituted one of the richest towns that the crown held. As such it was a rich plum for those who could influence the crown for appointment as corregidor. The first of these was Don Pedro de Arellano who brought

⁶ France V. Scholes and Eleanor B. Adams (eds.), Proceso contra Tzintzicha Tangaxoan, el Caltzontzin, formado por Nuño de Guzmán, año de 1530 (México, 1952).

⁷ José Brevo Ugarte, Historia de México, Vol. II: La Nueva España (3rd ed. rev., México, 1953), p. 50.

before the audiencia a royal cedula instructing them to give him one of the best corregimientos in the land. They placed him in charge of the capital of Michoacán. Early in 1532, however, they received complaints that he had tortured three Indians in order to find the hiding place of certain gold and jewels which the Cazonci had left to his sons.⁸ On February 15, 1532, they appointed Licenciado Cristóbal de Benavente as corregidor of the city of Uchichila and alcalde mayor of the province of Michoacán and of the mines of Colima and Zacatula and the others bordering on the province of Michoacán. He was also to make an enquiry as to how Arellano had conducted himself in office. On February 22, 1532, Bishop Zumárraga, who was leaving for Spain, commissioned Benavente to take his place as protector of the Indians and to conduct an ecclesiastical visitation in the area over which he was alcalde.⁹ Arellano was placed under arrest and a suit was brought against him by the Indians of Michoacán and the fiscal.¹⁰ The gold which was eventually recovered from Arellano was sequestered by the audiencia and sent to the Casa de Contratación in Sevilla to await the decision of the king concerning what was to be done with it.¹¹

⁸ Audiencia de México a la Emperatriz, México, 19 de abril, 1532, ENE, II, 117.

⁹ AGI, Justicia, leg. 260.

¹⁰ El fiscal contra Don Pedro de Arellano sobre el oro que tomó a los indios de Michoacán y demás cosas de que fué acusado, 1532, AGI, Justicia, leg. 187, ramo 1.

¹¹ La Audiencia de México a su Majestad, México, 5 de agosto, 1533, ENE, III, 110.

In their letter of April 19, 1532, in which the audiencia told the Empress of the appointment of Benavente, they were not far from the opinion that it would be good for one of the oidores to go to visit Michoacán.¹² By November 3, 1532, they had decided that Licenciado Quiroga should make a visitation of Michoacán because of the rush to the mines there and the many maltreatments of the natives.¹³ But Quiroga did not get away from Mexico City for several months. Very possibly he did not wish to desert his little pueblo of Santa Fe de México which he had begun to establish only in the late summer of 1532. He left for Michoacán sometime during the early summer of 1533, probably in late June. A new crisis had arisen in Michoacán at this time. Licenciado Juan Álvares de Castañeda, who had been appointed corregidor of Michoacán by a royal cedula, had forced the lord and some of the natives of Michoacán to reveal to him some of their treasures, which he then took for himself. Quiroga was instructed to make an enquiry into the matter. On August 5, 1533, the audiencia reported to the Emperor that Quiroga had written them, reporting that he had arrived in Michoacán and had begun to look into the accusations against Castañeda.¹⁴ He found that the corregidor had taken some precious metal and jewels from the Indians but not nearly in the amount that had been reported. It had been said that

¹² La Audiencia de México a la Emperatriz, México, 19 de abril, 1532, ENE, II, 118.

¹³ La Audiencia de México a su Majestad, México, 3 de noviembre, 1532, ENE, II, 218.

¹⁴ La Audiencia de México a su Majestad, México, 5 de agosto, 1533, ENE, III, 110-111.

Castañeda took 400,000 pesos from the Indians,¹⁵ but when Quiroga had the claims of the Indians assessed by a third party, they came to only 1,437 pesos de oro de ley perfecta.¹⁶ At Quiroga's command Castañeda repaid to the Indians 1,223 pesos which were found in his possession and that of Francisco de Mañana, which left only 214 pesos not accounted for.¹⁷ The Indians and the fiscal brought a suit against Castañeda, a copy of which was later sent to Spain, but the copy was not found in the Archive of the Indies.¹⁸

We do not know very much about Quiroga's activities in Michoacán in detail. We know that he tried to organize the Spanish residents of Michoacán into a formal town near the Tarascan capital. He appointed a complete slate of alcaldes and regidores for the town, which consisted of about twenty-five vecinos. The vecinos were given lots for houses; some of them built houses there, while others bought houses from the Indians. At first Quiroga wanted to call the town Granada but Bishop Fuenleal later wrote him that it should be called Uchichila Michoacán. On September 3, 1534, the cabildo of Mexico City took testimony to prove that Granada was a failure, founded in a nearly uninhabitable place, and

¹⁵ La Audiencia de México a su Majestad, México, 19 de agosto, 1533, AGI, México, leg. 3177.

¹⁶ Fe del oro que se halló que había tomado el Licenciado Castañeda, Uchichila, 5 de agosto, 1533, AGI, México, leg. 3177.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Los procesos que están en poder de mí Bernaldarias en esta villa de Madrid hasta hoy once de diciembre de 1534 años: Tercero envoltorio. . . . Otro de los indios de Michoacán y el fiscal con el Licenciado Castañeda, AGI, Indiferente General, leg. 856. Nearly all the other procesos mentioned in this list are now found in AGI, Justicia.

that it should not be refounded because it would draw citizens away from México and weaken it. Except for Gregorio Gallego, a vecino of Michoacán, who disagreed with the cabildo on every point, the witnesses in general supported the city's contention.¹⁹ We do not know what influence this opposition had on Quiroga's little town. In 1538, when Quiroga as bishop wished to move his cathedral from Tzintzuntzan to Pátzcuaro, he used almost the same arguments against the site in Tzintzuntzan as the cabildo of Mexico had in 1534.²⁰

One other small item that has come down to us from Quiroga's early activity in Michoacán is an enquiry concerning the existence of copper in that area. On October 15 and 19, 1533, he took testimony in the city of Michoacán from both Spanish and Indian witnesses. This testimony was later sent to the Council of the Indies.²¹

But Quiroga left his impression on Michoacán most deeply by his dealings with the natives. It was friction between Indians and Spaniards that had caused most of the difficulty in that region, and Quiroga recognized that basic to the problem were the religious differences between the conquered and the conquerors. Alonso de Paz, who accompanied Quiroga

¹⁹ Información hecha por el ayuntamiento de la ciudad de México para probar que estaba despoblada la ciudad de Granada en Michoacán y que no convenía sacar españoles de México para repoblarla, México, 3 de septiembre, 1534, ENE, III, 155-172.

²⁰ "Información hecha a pedimento del obispo para que conste del mal asiento y disposición del lugar donde estaba la iglesia primera y que conste de lo contrario en Pátzcuaro," León, Vida, p. 212.

²¹ Cierta información sobre lo del cobre de la Nueva España, Michoacán, 1533, AGI, Indiferente General, leg. 1204.

as scribe, testified in 1536 that Quiroga told the Indians that it was because of their idols that they were maltreated and persecuted and that if they were constantly being bothered by those who would take their gold and jewels from them, this was also because of their idols.²² The truth of this statement is seen in the fact that Pedro de Arellano had defended his actions by arguing that the gold and jewels that he took were offerings to idols.²³ Quiroga summoned the principales together and undertook to instruct them in their obligations to God and King. Francisco Castilleja, who served Quiroga as Tarascan interpreter, asserted that at times the oidor would talk to the Indians from morning till night, teaching them that there was one God in heaven and the Emperor on earth and that God rewarded the good and punished the evil.²⁴ Quiroga used his best efforts to convince the Indians that they should give up their sacrifices, idolatries, and drunkenness and should turn from the pursuit of the devil to the service of God.²⁵ He also told them that they must have only one wife and not many as they had had previously.²⁶ The Franciscan missionaries had attained only limited success in their efforts to put these same ideas across to the Indians and many forbidden practices had continued in secret in spite of the

²² Aguayo Spencer, p. 436.

²³ El fiscal contra Don Pedro de Arellano, 1532, AGI, Justicia, leg. 187, ramo 1.

²⁴ Aguayo Spencer, p. 422.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 430.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 429.

various types of coercion that the friars had used.²⁷ But the Indians listened to Quiroga, who must have had a knack of reaching their hearts. Many of the witnesses in his residencia mentioned that the Indians brought him their idols of stone or wood so that he could destroy them.²⁸ They gave up their multiple wives and began to marry with only one woman.²⁹ Andrés Suárez, who went with Quiroga to Michoacán as alguacil named by the audiencia, stated that Don Pedro, who was Indian governor of Michoacán at the time, had three or four concubines in his house. When one of them complained to Quiroga about this, he convinced the governor that he should rid himself of them and marry the one who had brought the complaint to him.³⁰

When Quiroga saw how well his talks to the Indians were received, he proposed to them that if they wished him to have a hospital built for them after the model of the one he had built in Santa Fe de México, he would endeavor to lay the groundwork for it and bring it to completion. Seeing all that he had done and the evidence of his love for them, they immediately caught up the idea and began looking for a place where he might build the hospital. They showed him a barrio on Lake Pátzcuaro that was suitable and then began the construction.³¹ The formal founding of the hospital must have taken place on September 15, 1533, since

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 428-429.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 423, 425-426, 429, 431.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 423.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 450.

³¹ Ibid., p. 430.

Quiroga says in the Ordinances that the first large crosses were raised in each of the hospitals on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, although in different years.³²

The purpose and nature of Santa Fe de la Laguna, as the foundation in Michoacán came to be called, were the same as those of Santa Fe de México. According to Fray Francisco de Bolonia, Quiroga explained to the Indians that it was to be a place where those who had gone astray could find refuge, where the poor could go, where the orphans would receive protection, and where the divine offices would be said.³³ Alonso de Ávalos, an Indian and important Tarascan interpreter, testified in Quiroga's residencia that in Santa Fe the poor were given shelter, clothing, and food.³⁴ Quiroga enforced certain norms of decent dress in the pueblo. The men wore mantles to cover their nakedness. The married women were obliged to dress differently from the girls and to have their heads covered.³⁵

Santa Fe de la Laguna, like that of México, was intended as a center for religious instruction, which was the reason behind its name. Juan Seciliano uses the word "monasterio" in regard to Santa Fe, and the Tarascan, Alonso de Ávalos, asserted that the Indians who lived there

³² Quiroga, "Ordenanzas," pp. 263-264.

³³ Aguayo Spencer, p. 444.

³⁴ RSA, f. 428. This part of Ávalos' statement is not contained in the printed version in Aguayo Spencer.

³⁵ Aguayo Spencer, pp. 447, 422.

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gave the appearance of monks and nuns.³⁶ They came together to pray in the morning, at vespers, and at dusk, and knew how to say the Ave Maria, Pater Noster, Creed, and Salve Regina, and could sing the hours of the Office.³⁷ Fray Francisco de Bolenia said he had seen more than a thousand souls come together on Friday nights, summoned by the bell, and they scourged themselves for an hour. During the Holy Week of 1556 another Spaniard had come to the friar with his eyes full of tears, saying that the Indians of the hospital had scourged themselves to the extent that the blood had formed pools.³⁸ This makes one wonder if they had not brought the blood-letting practices of their paganism over into their Christianity.

As the good fame of Santa Fe de la Laguna spread through the region, it was frequented not only by the Tarascans but also by the Chichimecs. These primitive Indians, who had never been conquered by the Spaniards, came to the hospital with their wives and children. Francisco Castilleja reported that the day had come in which more than five hundred Chichimecs of the area had become Christians in the hospital.³⁹

Most of the early development of Santa Fe de la Laguna took place in Quiroga's absence, which he considered an evidence that the success of the pueblo came from the work of God and from the goodness of the

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 415, 428.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 429, 447.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 445.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 424.

work itself rather than from the efforts of the temporal minister.⁴⁰ We do not know exactly when Quiroga returned from Michoacán, but he was back in Mexico City by March 19, 1534, when he made his requerimiento to the Indian principales who complained about not being paid for work on Santa Fe de México. Expressions in that document seem to indicate that he had only recently returned.⁴¹

There has been considerable dispute between Franciscan historians of Michoacán and devotees of Quiroga as to whether Quiroga or Fray Juan de San Miguel was the first to found hospitals in Michoacán. Fray Pablo Beaumont in his Crónica de Michoacán, written in the eighteenth century, studied the question, although with a heavy prejudice in favor of his confrere. He succeeded in proving only that Fray Juan was in the area before Quiroga, without adducing any solid proof to show that he founded hospitals before Quiroga.⁴² The present author can add no new light to this dispute which seems to him to be fruitless. The hospital-pueblos founded by Quiroga were something of considerably different nature from the hospital-infirmaries which are the glory of Juan de San Miguel. We can but join Fray Juan in his words of praise for Quiroga "that the said Licenciado is worthy to be favored by God, and may God give him his reward."⁴³

⁴⁰ RSA, f. 63v.

⁴¹ Ibid., ff. 73v-77v.

⁴² Pablo Beaumont, Crónica de Michoacán (3 vols., México, 1932), III, 141-166.

⁴³ Agunay Spencer, p. 446.

CHAPTER VII

DEVELOPMENT AND OPPOSITION IN SANTA FE DE LA LAGUNA

Royal aid and support were quick in coming to the pueblo-hospital in Michoacán. Quiroga must have sent a report back to Spain while he was still in Michoacán or very soon after returning to Mexico City, because already on September 28, 1534, a royal cedula of approval and favor was signed by the Emperor in Palencia, Spain. The cedula, which was directed to the corregidor of the city of Michoacán, stated that the king had been informed that Don Pedro, an Indian, and other persons native to the province (no mention is made of Quiroga) had built a hospital in which the poor people of the province were given shelter and protection. Because this was a matter pleasing to God, the corregidor was commanded to favor the people who were engaged in the construction of the hospital and to see to it that such a good and holy work should not be left uncompleted.¹ Quiroga undoubtedly felt the need of this cedula for the hospital in Michoacán, since he did not think that he would be there to watch after the work himself.

But an even greater sign of royal favor for Quiroga's work came in 1536 when he was named bishop of the newly erected diocese of Michoacán. The appointment of a bishop for Michoacán had been in the offing for

¹RSA, ff. 69v-70.

quite some time. In a letter of May 2, 1532, the crown instructed the audiencia to discuss the division of New Spain into dioceses. Apparently the audiencia had already considered the point, since they mentioned in a letter of July 5, 1532, that they sent a description and proposed division of the land. The Council awaited the return of the Emperor to Spain in 1533 before consulting with him about the suggested new dioceses. In a consulta of November 8, 1533, they proposed the establishment of the additional dioceses for New Spain. The proposal was acceptable to the Emperor and on February 20, 1534, he issued a cedula sanctioning the creation of the new dioceses.

On December 19, 1533, the Council had proposed Fray Luis de Fuensalida to the Emperor for the position of first bishop of Michoacán, a suggestion which the Emperor found satisfactory. But Fray Luis firmly declined the honor, as the Emperor was informed in a letter of September 7, 1535, from Bishop Ramírez Fuenleal, president of the audiencia of Mexico. By December 5, 1535, the attention of the Council had become centered on Vasco de Quiroga as an apt candidate for the new post; on that date they suggested his name to the Emperor.² The reasons that the Council gave in support of Quiroga's appointment were that "there is a good report of his life and example and he is much inclined to the conversion and good treatment of the Indians and to their instruction in the matters of our holy faith on which he has spent a large part of the salary that Your Majesty has commanded to be given to him."³

²Méndez Arceo, "Contribución a la historia de Don Vasco de Quiroga," pp. 63-65.

³Ibid., p. 67.

Once the suggestion of the Council had been approved by the Emperor, he communicated his wishes to his ambassador in Rome, the Conde de Cifuentes. The latter proposed the matter to the Pope and obtained authorization for the Cardinal Protector of Castile, Hercules Gonzaga, Cardinal of Mantua, to carry the proposal before a secret consistory. The consistorial acts indicate that on August 18, 1536, the Cardinal of Mantua requested the erection of the diocese of Michoacán and the creation of Vasco de Quiroga as its first bishop. There is some confusion of date here, since the papal bulls which put this decision into effect were dated August 8. An apostolic brief of December 9, 1536, authorized Quiroga to be consecrated by one bishop assisted by two ecclesiastical dignitaries instead of the prescribed assistant bishops. By March 2, 1537, the papal bulls had arrived in Spain and must have been dispatched to Mexico soon afterwards.⁴

For the time being, Quiroga, now designated as bishop-elect, continued to act as oidor in the audiencia of New Spain. On November 30, 1537, he was appointed by Viceroy Mendoza to count the number of vassals living in the towns that the crown had granted to the Marqués del Valle.⁵ He was occupied in this work on December 20, 1537, when Bishop Zumárraga wrote to the royal secretary, Juan de Sámano.⁶

The summer of 1538, however, saw Quiroga once more in Michoacán, taking possession of his diocese and making arrangements to set up his

⁴Ibid., pp. 197-199.

⁵AGI, Patronato, leg. 16, no. 2, ramo 44.

⁶Carta de Fray Juan de Zumárraga a Juan de Sámano, 20 de diciembre, 1537, Cartas de Indias, p. 168.

episcopal see there.⁷ He also took advantage of this opportunity to establish his pueblo of Santa Fe on a more stable footing. Although Don Pedro, the Indian governor of Michoacán, and the principales of the area around Lake Pátzcuaro had designated a certain piece of land for the use of the hospital when it was established, apparently no formal document of possession had been drawn up. In June 1538 Quiroga took proper steps to remedy the legal vulnerability of this situation. On June 21, 1538, Don Pedro and his wife Doña Inez appeared before Quiroga and the scribe Francisco Troche in the City of Michoacán and stated through an interpreter that they wished to make out a legal paper, for which they requested Quiroga to interpose his authority as oidor. The bishop-elect gave them permission and faculty to execute the legal paper, at which he was prepared to be present. The Tarascan governor and his wife then made out a bill of sale of certain lands to the pueblo and hospital of Santa Fe and to Don Vasco de Quiroga in its name as the builder of the pueblo-hospital. The somewhat confusing description of the land is as follows:

Las tierras que son en Pazaquareo en la vega que son en termino de esta ciudad y han por linderos de la una parte el peñol que está como vamos de esta dicha ciudad a Santa Fe y por la otra el pueblo de Petzaceanzaro que va por la dicha estancia a dar a esta ciudad, y por la otra parte entrada de la laguna de esta dicha ciudad hasta dar en el dicho camino.

For this land they received from the hospital and from Quiroga in its name the price of 150 pesos.⁸

⁷ Moreno, p. 53.

⁸ Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540, ff. 152v-155.

Six days later, on June 27, 1538, in the pueblo and hospital of Santa Fe, Quiroga called Don Pedro before him and told him of the royal cedula of November 13, 1535, by which Her Majesty had commanded that unused land near the hospitals be set aside for the maintenance and support of those who lived in them.⁹ He explained that by command of Viceroy Mendoza the cedula had already been fulfilled in regard to Santa Fe de México and reminded the Indian governor that it still had to be carried out for Santa Fe de Michoacán. Don Pedro had already set aside some lands for the pueblo but they were not extensive and the pueblo had need of many more in order to keep up its good work. Quiroga requested Don Pedro to outline the other lands that could be set aside for the pueblo so that the viceroy could put the cedula into force.

Don Pedro immediately indicated that the lands which he had set aside for the pueblo were:

Las que están y se contienen y encierran desde la palma que está cerca de la laguna en el llano que se dice Chupiquaro en el camino real que va a Tzácapu y a Colima derecho a dar al monte hasta la cumbre aguas vertientes hasta la laguna y desde allí por la orilla de la laguna hasta en derecho del peñol de Cozintal que está en el llano de la otra parte de Santa Fe que se llama el peñol Capaquareo que está cabe el camino real que va de Santa Fe a Michoacán; y de allí pasando por el dicho peñol a dar derecho a un ciprés que está en una cordillera que está junto al valle que se dice Petazaquaro hasta dar derecho a la cumbre y sierra del monte que pasa y va sobre Santa Fe; todo lo que se contiene y encierra desde la cumbre y montes aguas vertientes hasta la laguna y desde el dicho peñol hasta la dicha palma sin perjuicio de otras cualesquier tierras que otra persona allí haya y tenga al presente y tenían y poseían al tiempo que el dicho Don Pedro dió las dichas tierras al dicho hospital por baldías y desamparadas, las cuales después acá los vecinos y moradores del dicho hospital siempre han tenido y poseído y tienen y poseen con los árboles que en ellas hay.

⁹León, Documentos, pp. 1-2.

Thus it appears that the lands described here were those that had originally been set aside for Santa Fe.

The Tarascan governor went on to describe the lands which of his own free will he had sold to the pueblo for 150 pesos. It appears, however, that by agreement he was to retain the use of these lands for himself until the time of his death, except insofar as he should wish to allow the hospital to work them during his lifetime. He said that he sold these lands to the hospital to help it in its need, because he had helped to found the hospital and was devoted to it and because there were no other good lands in the neighborhood which could be given to it.¹⁰

Quiroga apparently now felt satisfied that title to the lands for his hospital was clear and he did not press to obtain the express grant from the viceroy. He was without doubt busily occupied in organizing his diocese and in preparing for his consecration as bishop. As he later indicated in his testament, when he came to New Spain as oidor he had not received any ecclesiastical ordination whatsoever. Therefore, he had to be ordained through the whole series of four minor and three major orders before he could be consecrated bishop. His consecration took place at sometime between November 26, 1538, and January 14, 1539, as is indicated by the acts of the ecclesiastical cabildo of Mexico City. On the earlier date he is referred to as bishop-elect; on the latter, as bishop. The general consensus of authors indicates that he was consecrated during December 1538, although the document of his conse-

¹⁰Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540, ff. 152y-155.

cration has not come to light.¹¹

In the meantime a threat to the very existence of Santa Fe de la Laguna had presented itself. An ambitious encomendero named Juan Infante had for several years claimed that he held a legitimate claim to several pueblos along the shores and on the islands of Lake Pátzcuaro, a group of pueblos that became known as the barrios de la laguna. One of these pueblos was Guayameo, where Quiroga had established his hospital. Infante's claim to the pueblos was very suspect. He based it on a cedula of encomienda, of which he was never able to produce anything more authoritative than a simple notarized copy made by the scribe Rodrigo Baeza. According to this copy, Infante had been granted more than twenty-five towns in Michoacán by a cedula issued by Alonso de Estrada, governor of New Spain, on October 22, 1528. According to the cedula these pueblos were passed on to Infante as Juan de Solís had held them before his death.¹² But there was no substantial evidence to show that Juan de Solís had ever held any pueblos in Michoacán other than that of Comanja,¹³ which was only the first of those listed in Infante's cedula.

It is something of a mystery as to how Infante came to have all of the other pueblos listed in his cedula--whether by an exaggerated statement to Estrada regarding the holdings of Solís in Michoacán, or

¹¹ Icazbalceta, Zumárraga, I, 159-160.

¹² Carta ejecutoria de Juan Infante, Valladolid, 18 de septiembre, 1538, Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540, ff. 2-5.

¹³ Tasación de la provincia de Michoacán por el Bachiller Juan de Ortega, 1528, Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540, f. 962.

by writing them in himself before having the cedula copied, or by some other means. But whatever means he used, he was at first able to convince the authorities in Mexico City of the validity of his claims.

On July 20, 1531, the audiencia commanded Don Pedro de Arellano, corregidor of Michoacán, to give Infante possession of the pueblos contained in his cedula. Arellano immediately objected that some of the pueblos belonged to the city of Uchichila (Michoacán) and for this reason he refused to fulfill the command of the audiencia. Infante went back to the audiencia, and on October 30, 1531, they issued another command to Arellano that he turn the pueblos over to Infante. Arellano again at first hesitated, claiming he needed to assert the rights of the Indians of the city, but on November 14, 1531, he instructed the principales of the city not to take tribute from Infante's towns.

When Licenciado Cristóbal de Benavente was sent to Michoacán as corregidor and visitador in 1532, the Indians complained about what had been done. On March 8, 1532, Benavente commanded that an enquiry be made into the way in which Infante had gained control of the lands of the Indians. Benavente came to the conclusion that Infante had never been in actual possession of the barrios de la laguna and that the city of Michoacán had always controlled them. For this reason he suspended the effects of Infante's cedula of encomienda in regard to the barrios. Infante appealed the case before the audiencia, where his attorney presented Benavente's proceso on April 26, 1532. The audiencia set up Bachiller Juan de Ortega as fiscal for the case to defend the rights of the crown over the barrios. The definitive sentence of the audiencia

was given on April 6, 1535, when they decided against Infante and in favor of the fiscal. Infante, however, was not to be stopped. He took the case personally to the Council of the Indies, and on August 1, 1538, the Council handed down a definitive sentence in favor of Infante, reversing that of the audiencia.¹⁴

While Infante was in Spain appealing his case, he married Catalina Samaniego, who, according to a later claim by Fiscal Benavente in Mexico, was a relative of Juan de Sámano, the royal secretary.¹⁵ In 1554 Infante gave power of attorney to Francisco de Samaniego, secretary of the audiencia and chancillería of Valladolid in Spain, possibly also a relative of his wife.¹⁶ Thus, there is some reason to believe that the decision in favor of Infante depended more on influence than on the merits of the case. But, no matter how he came by it, Infante returned to Mexico in the summer of 1539 armed with a carta ejecutoria, a letter issued by the Council, summarizing the case, embodying the decision which had been given, and commanding that the decision be carried out.

On June 30, 1539, Infante presented his carta ejecutoria before the audiencia and asked that it be put into effect. The audiencia gave obedience to the letter with the proper signs of respect and decreed

¹⁴ Carta ejecutoria, 1 de agosto, 1538, Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540, ff. 5-16.

¹⁵ Probanza de los méritos y servicios de Juan Infante, México, 1576, AGI, Patronato, leg. 74, no. 2, ramo 5; Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540, f. 1219.

¹⁶ [El fiscal] con Juan Infante, vecino de México, sobre derecho a los pueblos de la Laguna de Michoacán que le estaban encomendados, 1554, AGI, Justicia, leg. 203, no. 2.

that someone should be appointed to go to Michoacán to give Infante the physical possession of the pueblos contained in his cedula. The news of this decision was carried quickly to Michoacán and brought a prompt reply from that province, for on July 14, 1539, Álvaro Ruiz appeared before the audiencia in the name of Don Pedro and the Indians of the City of Michoacán to petition against the letter and the decision to enforce it. He claimed, as had been done frequently before, that the barrios de la laguna belonged to the City of Michoacán and could not by right be given to Infante. The audiencia replied that it could not consider such an appeal and that the appellants should take their case before His Majesty. On August 15, 1539, the audiencia issued an appointment of Andrés Juárez, alguacil of the court, to go to Michoacán with Infante as executor to put his letter into effect.¹⁷ He was to be accompanied by Sancho López de Agurto as receptor to make a record of the proceedings. Infante presented this appointment to López on September 16, 1539, and López in turn officially notified Juárez of it the next day.¹⁸

On September 19, 1539, Álvaro Ruiz again appeared before the audiencia to present a lengthy petition, requesting that the letter be given formal obedience but that its effect be suspended pending an appeal to His Majesty. By this time Bishop Quiroga had also officially entered the case, and the petition was submitted in his name and that of the Indians of Michoacán. Quiroga's interests in this struggle went further

¹⁷ Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540. When we are merely following the course of the suit, folio numbers will not be given.

¹⁸ Quiroga vs. Infante, 1539.

than the question of harm to his pueblo of Santa Fe. The petition shows that he was concerned lest, in losing the barrios de la laguna, the City of Michoacán would not be able to support the Spanish and Indian population which was befitting his newly erected diocesan see. Not only would the Indians of the city lose the farms and fields which they cultivated in the barrios, but they would have to support an unproportionately heavy burden of tribute, since the barrios had always contributed to these payments. Moreover, the petition stated, this damage was being done to the city by a decision based on falsified documents and without having heard the party which was being injured. Ruiz requested that Infante, who was preparing to leave Mexico City to go to Michoacán, be commanded to stay. But the audiencia merely ordered Infante to appoint an attorney. On September 25 Ruiz demanded an answer to his petition. The reply of the audiencia was that, in spite of the claims of the bishop and natives of the City of Michoacán, the carta ejecutoria should be carried out but that in enforcing it the appeal of the other party was to be granted.¹⁹ By this time Infante had already left Mexico City and was drawing near to his destination.²⁰

In the meantime Quiroga had not been idle in regard to Santa Fe. Infante's return to Mexico with a favorable judgment regarding his possession of Guayameo made it imperative that Quiroga obtain viceregal sanction for the landholdings of his pueblo. The cedula of 1535 had never been carried out by a formal grant of land by the viceroy, even

¹⁹Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540

²⁰Quiroga vs. Infante, 1539.

though the lands for the grant had been clearly determined. On July 23, 1539, Viceroy Mendoza finally issued the grant which officially confirmed the pueblo in the possession of the lands that had been designated a year earlier by Don Pedro. There is no indication in the document as to what petitions had preceded its issuance, but since it followed by only three weeks the presentation of Infante's carta ejecutoria, it seems to indicate an effort on Quiroga's part to strengthen his position as much as possible before Infante came to take possession of his towns.

Quiroga's agent, Pedro de Yépes, showed great haste in getting to Santa Fe to put the grant into effect. On August 1, 1539, only nine days after the grant was made, he was already in Santa Fe carrying out the formal acts of possession before Esteban González, alguacil, and Francisco Troche, scribe. He was especially insistant that the scribe record that his acts of possession--throwing rocks from one part to another, gathering fodder, and walking through the land--went without contradiction by any third party.

Apparently Quiroga did not find these acts of possession entirely satisfactory. On September 26 Pedro de Yépes was again in Santa Fe to take formal possession of the lands once more. He stated that the previous acts had been carried out in the presence of Esteban González, alguacil, because no other official of justice could be found in the City of Michoacán. Now, "adding right to right and possession to possession," he came with a mandamiento of Pedro de Monguía, alcalde ordinario of the City of Michoacán, which instructed the alguacil to give possession of the lands specified in the grant to the Indians of

Santa Fe. The mandamiento had been made out in Pátzcuaro on the previous day. Yepes, acting in the name of the pueblo, presented the document to Alonso de Peñaranda, alguacil of the City of Michoacán, from whom Yepes once more received possession of the lands in the name of the Indians.²¹

It seems that Quiroga himself was in Santa Fe on this occasion, although his name does not appear in the document of possession.

Infante later claimed that Quiroga had gone to Santa Fe accompanied by Don Pedro and many Spaniards and Indians, suspecting that Infante would begin his acts of possession there. Alonso Vázquez Gallego, a servant of Infante's, was sent to Santa Fe ahead of the rest of the party.

According to Infante, Vázquez found the town on the point of war, with the feared Chichimecs to whom Quiroga had given hospitality there, ready to start shooting their arrows. Vázquez was told to leave Santa Fe if he did not wish to be killed. Francisco Pilo, one of Infante's witnesses, stated that Quiroga had sent an Indian to summon all the canoes on the lake to take him and all the people who were in Pátzcuaro to Santa Fe.²² Probably this was all a last-minute effort on Quiroga's part to repair his fences before Infante's arrival. The acts of possession before Peñaranda took place on September 26;²³ Infante arrived in Michoacán on September 27.²⁴

²¹ Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540.

²² Quiroga vs. Infante, 1539.

²³ Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540.

²⁴ Quiroga vs. Infante, 1539. The next several pages of text will be extracted from this document.

With Infante's arrival in Michoacán the stage was set for a dramatic confrontation between the two principal parties in the case--Infante, confident in the decision of the Council and the support of the audiencia, and Quiroga, determined that, no matter what the price, the barrios de la laguna would not be given to Infante. The news that the audiencia had decided to enforce the decision of the Council seems to have put Quiroga into a state of restrained fury. As we mentioned previously, he was a man of very strong convictions who could not easily be brought to give up a stand once taken. In the case of Infante's pueblos he had taken part in the decision of the audiencia which had deprived Infante of them. Now, moreover, he had become bishop of the city which would suffer serious harm if the pueblos were given to Infante. He saw, furthermore, a threat of destruction hanging over Santa Fe de la Laguna, the apple of his eye, on which he pinned great hope in his work for the salvation of the Indians.

In the interrogatory which Infante later made up concerning what happened in Michoacán, he claimed that Quiroga had stated publicly that he wanted nothing more than to be a hermit and that he would cause a serious disturbance in this affair so that he would lose his diocese and could take up the eremitical life. Such a negative attitude does not sound typical of Quiroga, and Infante's witnesses did not give him much support in regard to it. What they did generally agree on was that Quiroga had expressed his firm determination not to allow Infante to take possession of the pueblos and had said that he would rather lose his bishopric than see Infante gain the possession. Antonio de Godoy

testified that he had often heard the bishop say that, if the pueblos were given to Infante, he would leave his diocese and go with a pilgrim's staff to His Majesty to ask that his bishopric be taken from him. According to Diego de Godoy many Spaniards had tried to dissuade Quiroga from resisting the royal decree, but he had said he would die in defense of the possession.

Quiroga undoubtedly used every means in his power to prevent Infante from gaining control of the barrios de la laguna. He talked to the citizens of the City of Michoacán both in public and in private to enlist them on his side. According to Infante he appeared in the cabildo of the city and convinced them that they also should resist the execution of Infante's carta. Alonso Jiménez Madero, one of the regidores of the city, stated that, although he had been absent from the cabildo at the time of Quiroga's appearance, the other regidores had told him that the bishop had appeared in the cabildo and gotten them to discuss the resistance that they should put up against Infante's actions.

As soon as Infante arrived in Michoacán on September 27 accompanied by his executor and receptor, the active opposition to his intended possession began to take shape. Pedro de Yepes and Antonio de Castro came before the executor and presented a petition against the fulfillment of Infante's carta in the name of the Church, City, and Indians of Michoacán. The letters of attorney that they presented indicated the length of time over which this opposition had been developing. There was one from the Indian principales of the city dated July 11, one from Quiroga dated July 25, one from Quiroga and the Indians of Santa Fe

dated September 27, and one from the cabildo of the city dated August 15. They were all made out specifically for the purpose of opposing Infante.

On September 30 Andrés Juárez, the executor, replied to the petition presented on September 27. He stated that he was merely an executor and not a judge and that he was under obligation to put the carta ejecutoria into effect. He then exhibited the carta to Quiroga and his party. After this Infante presented a requerimiento to Juárez. He complained of Quiroga's efforts to impede him, accusing him of stirring up the Spaniards and Indians to resistance, even to the point of war. He asked that the penalties contained in the carta be imposed. Juárez replied that he was ready to place Infante in possession of the pueblos and that he would act on the penalties in due time as the audiencia should command. Infante replied that on the next day, Wednesday, October 1, they would go to his pueblos.

Now Antonio de Castro and Pedro de Yepes presented a requerimiento. They asserted that the executor was not obliged to act but should take the case back to the audiencia to which they had already appealed. They refused to take any responsibility for any disturbances and riots that might arise if an attempt were made to enforce the carta. Juárez again replied that his powers extended only to the execution of Infante's letter and not to the hearing of cases. He added that, if disturbances, riots, or killings should result, it would be the responsibility of Quiroga, the attorneys, and their companions.

Quiroga now appeared personally before the executor and asked to hear Infante's accusations against him. Having heard them, he

replied that he did not exact service of the Indians but that he served them and tried to help them and to defend and protect them with justice. He was fulfilling the office of a good shepherd in this way and by placing himself in the midst of disturbances in order to prevent them. He claimed that everything he had done in the case had been done in order to avoid disturbances and to prevent Infante and the executor from exceeding their rights and causing tumults, thus risking the loss of their own lives and the lives of many others. In time of such tumults he should not leave the side of the executor in spite of the requests that had been made and, even if the executor wished him to leave, he would not do so because the Indians were so stirred up over the harm that was being done them without their being heard. The executor and receptor knew, he said, of the sincere intention with which he was accustomed to act in the service of God and His Majesty.

Infante, speaking next, repeated his accusations and said that he would say more about the injuries he had always received from Quiroga but that he would reserve such a statement for a competent judge. Quiroga, in defense of his position, presented the regal and papal documents which gave the title and privileges of a city to Michoacán and raised it to the dignity of the see of a diocese.

Later the same day Infante made a new requerimiento before the receptor. He complained that on the previous night Quiroga and Don Pedro had sent out Indian alguaciles and had forced the people to leave the pueblos that were to be given to him. He claimed that they were holding these people prisoners and that some had been killed and others

injured in forcing them to leave their pueblos. López de Agurto replied that he had no authority to take testimony and that, if Infante wanted this done, he would have to go before a competent judge. Juárez also said that he was not competent to take judicial testimony but that, if Infante could show him where the Indians were imprisoned, he would carry out the commands of the audiencia. Infante then took the executor to see an Indian named Toribio, principal of Quisquaro, who was in the convento de San Francisco. The Indian told them that by command of Don Francisco, brother of Don Pedro, many alguaciles had gone out to the pueblos to summon the principales to bring roses and attend Mass on the feast of Saint Michael, which was on the previous day. He had heard that they had all gone to Pátzcuaro, which was being refounded and that there they were building some walls. He did not know whether or not they had returned to their pueblos. This answer took all the force out of Infante's complaint.

Early the next day, October 1, 1539, Infante asked the receptor and executor to proceed with the granting of possession of his pueblos. They left the city immediately, taking the road that led to Santa Fe. They had not gone far along the road before they were overtaken by Bishop Quiroga riding a mule, accompanied by several Spaniards on horseback carrying lances. With them were three clerics, two of them priests, also on horseback and wearing swords at their sides.

When the two groups had come together, they stopped and Infante presented a written requerimiento to the receptor. He requested that Quiroga and company be commanded to leave and said that any disturbances

would be Quiroga's fault. Quiroga replied, also in writing, that he was present to see if the possession could be given without tumult and riot and he saw that it could not be done without great danger, disturbance, riot, and deaths. As pastor and prelate of the diocese he did not have to allow this to happen until the viceroy and audiencia were informed and made a provision regarding it. The executor commanded the eleven laymen to return to their houses under penalty of 50,000 maravedís. He threatened the three clerics with the loss of temporalities and told them he would proceed against them as seculars since they came bearing arms.

The reply of the clerics, De Tapia, Padre Jiménez, and Padre Zurita, was that they were going with their lord, the bishop, and that the executor was not their judge. Moreover, it meant nothing to them to lose the temporalities. Three of the laymen, Juan de Castilleja, Arias Girón, and Diego de Ribera, elected to turn back. Antonio de Castro and Pedro de Yepes said that they were going along as parties to the dispute and they appealed the executor's command. Alonso de Toledo also appealed the command, stating that he was public scribe of the city and was going along to make a record. The others, Alonso de Medina, Francisco Troche, De Pineda, Morales Cantor, and Pedro Riano, stated that they were accompanying their lord, the bishop, because they lived with him and had to go with him wherever he went; they also appealed the command.

López de Agurto, in his personal written report of the incident, said that after the Spaniards had been commanded to turn back he had

spoken many things to the bishop in the interest of peace. The bishop had replied that they would have to cut him in two and make pieces out of him before they could give the possession to Infante, because, as he had already alleged, it was not given according to the laws of the realm.

The two groups now rode on for some distance together. As they were going along, the Spaniards told Infante that beside a certain cross on the road ahead 6,000 Indians were waiting and that they were going to kill him alone. The receptor wrote in his report that already before they left the city he had been told that if Infante dared to take possession of the pueblos there was a large number of armed Tarascans and Chichimecs waiting beside a cross outside the city in order to kill him. According to his information the bishop was to embrace the receptor during the attack because he did not want anyone but Infante to be killed. The receptor observed that, before they left the city and after they met along the road, the bishop was very fearful and disturbed, telling him that he (the receptor) knew the terms of the law and the case as well as the contradictions and dangers that were expected, and that he should not give cause for the natives to commit crimes which might result in deaths, because the possession was already taken. The receptor warned the bishop to give careful consideration to what he was commanded to do by His Majesty and the audiencia in accordance with their commission, which he would carry out even in the face of greater perils. If anything happened it would be the responsibility of the bishop and his companions.

Before they reached the place where the Indian warriors were said to be waiting, Infante stopped in the road and presented a written statement, indicating that, because the bishop and company insisted on going with them and the tumult was increasing, he wished to turn back and would return to Mexico to report the whole matter to viceroy and audiencia. The executor, he said, could not do any more because the bishop had the whole province at his command. The executor responded that he was willing to proceed with the possession and that if they turned back it would be Infante's responsibility. Infante then stated that he knew for certain that the bishop had placed many warriors a little further ahead and that by the command of the bishop they were to kill him. Because of this he thought God and King would be better served if they turned back.

The bishop, executor, and Infante turned back, but the receptor went ahead in order to see what was there. The clerics and some of the servants of the bishop would not leave him. Before they reached the place, one of the servants of the bishop spurred his horse ahead and was lost to sight. After a long stretch of road the receptor again met the servant. The receptor believed that the servant had ridden ahead to tell the warriors to leave because, when he reached the cross, he found no warriors but only many Indians among the cornfields and rocks on both sides of the road. Then he returned to the city.

Later when Infante was trying to prove that Quiroga had planned to have the Indians kill him, he called five Indian witnesses. Their testimony is suspect because they all came from towns which Infante

controlled. They all told of having passed along the road to Santa Fe on the morning when Infante was to start his acts of possession. They claimed to have seen a large gathering of Tarascan and Chichimec warriors by a cross in the road, who said they were waiting to kill Infante if he proceeded in his determination to take their pueblos and lands from them. Only one witness said that Quiroga had commanded this; the other four laid the responsibility on Don Pedro, the Tarascan governor.

On October 2 Quiroga presented a written statement regarding his part in the affair of the previous day. He said his intention, as was clear to Infante, was that there should not be disturbances, riots, and killings, such as would have occurred for several reasons. The Indians were much disturbed because of the injustice and molestation which was being done to them in forcefully despoiling them of what they had held peacefully and needed in order to live. The executor would have exceeded his commission in granting the possession to Infante since it was not undisputed and vacant but taken by the Indians and Church of Michoacán. On the night before his attempted acts of possession Infante had gone to where the Indians were and had maltreated, injured, and threatened them so much in speech that there was reason to fear that, if the bishop had left his side, they would have killed him. Therefore, it was only right that he should have gone with Infante and the officials for the protection of his own rights and that he should have been accompanied by some servants to resist the Indians lest perhaps they should kill Infante. Infante again contended that the bishop did not intend

to sow peace but discord and that he had given the Indians to understand that if they killed him it would not bring harm on them because it would be the work of a community. He proposed to prove his accusations in good time.

Infante returned to the audiencia breathing fire because of his rebuff. He presented a criminal accusation against Quiroga on October 15, 1539. He accused the bishop of being the principal cause of the trouble and of having assembled a force of 10,000 or 12,000 Indians to kill him and his companions. He asserted that Quiroga and those who assisted him were guilty of the crime of treason for resisting a royal decree and were deserving of grave physical punishments and death. He asked that these penalties be executed on their persons and goods. Although the audiencia allowed Infante to take testimony to support his accusations, there is no evidence that any action was ever taken against Quiroga or the Indians.

Infante also asked that one of the oidores be sent to execute his letter and to do justice to the guilty. On October 23, 1539, the audiencia informed Infante that the viceroy himself was preparing to leave for Michoacán and that he would appoint someone who would execute the letter in spite of all appeals, supplications, protestations, requerimientos, and contradictions.

Viceroy Mendoza arrived in Michoacán sometime toward the end of 1539.²⁵ On December 31, 1539, he spoke to the principales of the

²⁵Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540. The next several pages depend entirely on this source. The acts of possession made by Mendoza's authority are found in both the 1539 and the 1540 documents.

barrios de la laguna who had been summoned to Pátzcuaro. He told them of the decree of His Majesty and commanded them that from that day forward they should give their tributes to Juan Infante. The principales answered that they belonged to His Majesty and were his vassals. They had never served nor given tribute to Juan Infante but had always been subject to the City of Michoacán and since the coming of the Spaniards they had given tribute only to His Majesty. They would rather die and leave their homes and lands than serve and give tribute to Infante.

Mendoza then told them that they and all the natives of New Spain were vassals of His Majesty and that now His Majesty was commanding them to give their tributes to Infante. They would still remain vassals of His Majesty. The principales replied that, since they were free vassals of His Majesty, they and the other natives of their pueblos would come to live in Pátzcuaro and in other towns of the province. They would leave their lands, and those who would plant them could pay the tribute, because they wished to serve His Majesty and not Juan Infante. Mendoza assured them that the vassals of His Majesty had that liberty and that no force could be put on them in regard to it. Don Pedro now took the floor to complain that an injustice was being done to him and the City of Michoacán in taking away their subject pueblos without allowing them a hearing. Mendoza insisted that what His Majesty commanded must be fulfilled above all. If they had anything to say, they should say it, and he would give a complete report of it to the Emperor. His Majesty would command that they be heard and their justice upheld. The reply of the principales was that they reaffirmed what they had already said.

Mendoza then appointed Velasco de Barrionuevo to go with Infante and give him possession of the pueblos in spite of all objections. The acts of possession began on Saturday, January 3, 1540, in the pueblo of Iramangaro and were completed on January 5. Infante and Barrionuevo were followed step by step by Pedro de Yepes and Antonio Castro, who, in the name of the Church, City, and natives of Michoacán, made formal objections to each act of possession and forced the executor to eject them physically from each pueblo, so that Infante could not claim to have received peaceful possession. On January 5, when they reached the vicinity of Santa Fe, Yepes presented the executor with the documents of sale, donation, and possession which had been made for Santa Fe and which were sanctioned by a royal cedula. Barrionuevo made no attempt to go against such clear evidence of prior possession. Perhaps some understanding had been reached with Mendoza in this regard.

When Infante sent the record of his acts of possession to the Council he sent along a petition.²⁶ Although undated, it appears to have been made out soon after the acts of possession. In it he complained that the cacique, principales, and natives of Guayameo had all gone to live in Santa Fe, which Quiroga had built within the bounds of Guayameo while Infante was denied the possession of it. He asked that if Santa Fe was within Guayameo it should be commanded to give tribute and service to him. He also petitioned that Quiroga be commanded to build his pueblo de Santa Fe somewhere else where it would not be prejudicial to him and his holdings.

²⁶Quiroga vs. Infante, 1539.

In another paragraph, Infante complained that Quiroga held certain lands in Guayameo, Chopícuaro, and Cozaro which he had bought from Don Pedro. According to Infante, these lands did not belong to Don Pedro but to the pueblos within which they lay. He asked for a royal decree that, if the lands belonged to Don Pedro, the sale should be valid but, if they did not belong to the Indian governor, the Indians of Santa Fe should be ordered to leave them and the bishop should get his money back from Don Pedro. A note in the margin of this paragraph gives the answer of the Council: "To the viceroy: that he should look into it and do justice briefly."

The extent of Infante's ambition is seen in another paragraph of the petition, in which he asked to be made alcalde mayor of his pueblos. This would have made his pueblos a kind of state in themselves, subject wholly to Infante's authority as the official of civil justice of the first instance. The Council responded with a simple denial: "No hay lugar."

The struggle between Quiroga and Infante over the barrios de la laguna continued through many years and many legal twists and turns. On February 3, 1540, the audiencia opened the action on the appeal by issuing an official act commanding both sides to gather testimony. Since Infante was now in possession of the towns, every delay was an advantage to him. He used every means possible to slow the case down. He demanded two years' time to send a questionnaire to Spain to get testimony from such men as Nuño de Guzmán and Diego Delgadillo. On August 19, 1540, the audiencia granted him a year and a half from the time of the sailing

of the first ship from the port. Infante never presented the testimony from Spain but he did hold up the suit in Mexico until his time had run out.

The positions of the two sides changed very little from those taken at the very outset of the dispute. Quiroga's party contended that Infante's claim was based on false documents, that Infante had never had prior possession of the pueblos, and that in giving the pueblos to Infante an injustice had been done to the Bishop, City, and Indians of Michoacán without their having been heard. Infante, on the other hand, attempted to prove that his documents were valid and that the barrios did not belong to the City of Michoacán.

The character of Infante's proof was shown up by the fact that three questions were struck from his interrogatory by orders of the audiencia. Moreover, two witnesses whose testimony was of key importance were later re-examined by command of the audiencia and they denied having given the testimony that had been presented under their names. One of them, Juan Pérez Calvillo, who, according to the first statement attributed to him, had seen Infante's original cedula of encomienda before its loss and knew its contents, later denied that he could either read or write. Another witness, the Comendador Juan Fernández Infante de Barrios, flatly refused to be re-examined regarding his relationship with Juan Infante, even though cited to do so twice by the audiencia, once in Mexico and once in Guadalajara.

The audiencia made no decision regarding this case, since it was an appeal of a decision of the Council of the Indies. On April 22, 1544,

the audiencia decreed that the case was ready to be sent to the Council.²⁷ There is no indication as to what action, if any, was taken on it in Spain.

While this suit was being carried on, Quiroga undertook to make the position of Santa Fe even more invulnerable. He informed the Council of the hospital and college he had founded in the city of Michoacán and asked the king to take the title of patron of the two institutions. A royal cedula was issued in Barcelona on May 1, 1543, granting the bishop's request.²⁸

There seems to have been no further legal action in regard to the barrios de la laguna until Quiroga was in Spain between 1547 and 1554. Even then he does not appear to have attended to it until shortly before his return to Mexico. On the last page of the mammoth record of the suit between Quiroga and Infante there is a notation that the party of the bishop, governor, and principales of Michoacán had paid 9,000 maravedís for the review of the case in Madrid on July 29, 1552.²⁹

Quiroga now took a new approach in his attempt to dislodge Infante. This encomendero had been mentioned among several others in a paragraph of the New Laws of 1542 as having an excessive number of Indians. The law had decreed that Indians should be taken from these persons in spite of any appeal.³⁰ Quiroga reminded the Council that

²⁷ Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540.

²⁸ León, Documentos, pp. 34-35.

²⁹ Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540, f. 2328v.

³⁰ Cf. DII, XVI, 389.

this law had never been carried out in regard to Infante. He asked that, because Infante held the barrios de la laguna, of which the City of Michoacán had been violently despoiled, they should be taken from him in fulfillment of the law and returned to the City of Michoacán. Two cedulas were issued in Madrid on March 3, 1553, commanding the law be executed against Infante in the way Quiroga had requested.³¹

Quiroga presented these cedulas before the audiencia in Mexico on July 30, 1554. The audiencia gave them formal obedience and on August 3 they put them into force. Infante appealed, but on September 27, 1554, the audiencia confirmed its previous decision. Infante now appealed directly to the crown and on August 3, 1555, was granted a second review of the case before the Council by the authority of the Princess of Portugal, governor of the kingdom. For many years no decision was forthcoming. In 1574, after both Quiroga and Juan Infante were dead, Infante's son and heir, Juan Infante Samaniego, brought the case once more to the attention of the Council. On April 26, 1575, the Council finally and definitively confirmed the sentence of the audiencia that the barrios de la laguna should remain subject to the City of Michoacán.

Having made our way through this long and laborious struggle of litigious giants, we will turn back once more to the year 1540 or

³¹These concluding judicial acts regarding the barrios de la laguna are found in: [El fiscal] con Juan Infante, vecino de México sobre los pueblos de la laguna de Michoacán que le estaban encomendados, 1554, AGI, Justicia, leg. 203, no. 2.

thereabouts for a rare insight into the inner workings of Santa Fe de la Laguna. Cristóbal Cabrera, who presented Quiroga as a model of missionary method, drew much of his material from the operation of this pueblo-hospital. We do not know exactly when he observed the things that he reported, but he must have done so before 1545, because in that year he went back to Spain, never to return to Mexico.³² His name was among those of the official witnesses to the acts of sale and donation by Don Pedro to Santa Fe in 1538,³³ but he was not at all in evidence during the hassle between Quiroga and Infante in 1539. This, however, does not preclude the possibility of his having been in Michoacán after 1539.

The first Indians to come to Santa Fe were, of course, those who lived fairly close at hand. While there, they were instructed carefully in Christian doctrine and were given an example of Christian charity by the kind generosity with which they were received and given everything they needed free during the time they were being instructed.³⁴ The bishop tried to leave a lasting impression on these neophytes by the solemnity of the sacrament of baptism. Quiroga was very insistant that baptism of the Indians be carried out after the manner of the early Church, i.e., preceded by a catechumenate and administered only on the feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, and with full solemnity

³²Cabrera, p. 17.

³³Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540, ff. 152v, 155.

³⁴Cabrera, pp. 19-20.

except in cases of grave necessity.³⁵ Cabrera describes some of the pomp and splendor of the occasion. There was a great general procession with large numbers of candidates all clothed in white robes. Added to this was a large group of singers and musicians who rendered liturgical chants and the devout hymns which the bishop himself composed for them. The hymns were generally based on Scriptural metaphors. Those who approached the waters of baptism were compared to lambs of Christ cleansed in the Jordan, to deer panting after fountains of water, to a tree planted near running waters which brings forth fruit in good season, or to branches incorporated into the true vine which is Christ. To add to the solemnity of the occasion, a large number of the clergy and civil officials assisted at the ceremony. Baptism was received with such enthusiasm by the large crowds that the bishop could not restrain his tears.³⁶

Before the neophytes returned home the bishop gave them images of the Saviour, His Blessed Mother, the angels, and the saints. These they displayed to the Indians through whose territory they passed. As they spread the word of Quiroga's extraordinary kindness, goodness, and graciousness, natives who had never been conquered (the Chichimecs) began to come of their own accord. Large numbers of them presented themselves before him, the men wearing nothing but their weapons, the women covering their nakedness only with a loincloth of animal skins. They approached the bishop with every sign of respect, kissed his hand,

³⁵ Loazbalceta, Zumárraga, I, 138-139; III, 110-111.

³⁶ Cabrera, p. 20.

and asked his blessing. The leaders spoke before him with such eloquence that he remarked, "Did you ever see among unlettered people such eloquent orators?" He was unembarrassed that they approached him in their nakedness and savagery, because he realized that no one had come to teach them anything better. They requested Quiroga that, as he had shown such kindness to numberless other Indians, he should act in the same way toward them. They assured him that they were ready to believe and practice the faith and the way of life that he taught. The bishop encouraged them in their faith and trust in the Triune God and told them he would gladly provide them with everything they needed to perfect their knowledge and practice of the faith and the Christian way of life.³⁷

In providing hospitality for the Indians, Bishop Quiroga did not neglect their entertainment. The boys would compete at shooting arrows at a distant target. For prizes they were given live rams and pigs. The bishop used these contests, which aroused the keenest competition and interest, to teach them moral lessons--that their deeds should converge on Christ the Saviour as their one target; that, as they had mastered the art of shooting, they must also attain the goal of heaven by the mastery of even mightier weapons, the knowledge of their faith. A deer would be released and there would be a contest to catch it. When the games were finished, the bishop would have clothing distributed among the Indians--cotton trousers and other articles of apparel that would excite the envy and shame of other naked Indians. He told them

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 20,22-23.

that the clothing was a symbol of their having been cleansed in baptism and clothed in Christ Jesus. When they left Santa Fe, Quiroga appointed capable catechists among them to instruct them more profoundly in the faith.³⁸

It was partly the fear of these Chichimecs with their incredibly accurate arrows that caused Infante to withdraw from his first attempt to take possession of his pueblos.³⁹ Later he accused Quiroga of taking the lands of Guayameo, Cozaro, and Chopicuaro and giving them to these wandering Chichimecs.⁴⁰ Quiroga's reply was that this was far better than making the lands into a pig farm as Infante had sworn and threatened to do.⁴¹

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 23-24.

³⁹ Quiroga vs. Infante, 1539.

⁴⁰ Quiroga vs. Infante, 1540, ff. 717y-718.

⁴¹ Ibid., f. 986.

CHAPTER VIII

QUIROGA'S TESTAMENT AND ITS AFTEREFFECTS

According to Moreno, Bishop Quiroga died on Wednesday, March 14, 1565, in the town of Uruapan while he was making a visitation of his diocese.¹ That he died about the middle of March 1565 is supported by contemporary documentation; that he died in Uruapan is not. On April 24, 1565, Licenciado Valderrama, visitador of the audiencia of Mexico, reported to the crown that on the 24th of the previous month (March) news of the death of the bishop of Michoacán had reached the City of Mexico.² Since the time required for messages to pass between Michoacán and Mexico City was about a week, the bishop's death must have occurred at least as early as March 17 or 18. Thus there is little reason to disagree with Moreno's date of March 14, 1565, which he derived from the inscription on a painting of Quiroga which at one time hung in the cathedral of Michoacán.³

But as to his having died in Uruapan, in spite of the long-standing tradition in support of it, there are weighty considerations to the contrary. In 1573 the parish priests of the cathedral church in Pátzcuaro conducted a suit against the Franciscans of that city to

¹ Moreno, p. 132.

² El Licenciado Valderrama a Su Majestad, México, 24 de abril, 1565, AGI, México, leg. 68, ramo 2.

³ Moreno, p. 133.

deprive them of the right to have a baptismal font in their church. Among the questions of their interrogatory was one which read: "Further, if they know that the aforementioned Most Reverend Don Vasco de Quiroga, who was first bishop of this diocese, passed from this present life in this said city toward the beginning of the year 1565, let them tell what they know." "This said city" can refer only to Pátzcuaro where the probanza was being made and which was the only place in Michoacán at that time which had the right to call itself a city. Four of the witnesses, Juan de Benavides, Pedro de Castro, Canon Juan de Velasco, and Canon Garcí Rodríguez Pardo, stated that they were present at Quiroga's death and that it occurred as was stated in the question.⁴ Canon Velasco's statement carries special weight since, as he remarked, he was one of the executors of Quiroga's will.⁵

The bishop's will was dated in the City of Michoacán (Pátzcuaro) on January 24, 1565. Just as the hospitals of Santa Fe had always been among his first loves during his life, so also at his death did he give them the greatest part of his attention.⁶ He reconfirmed many of the

⁴ El convento de los religiosos de San Francisco de la Provincia de Michoacán con la iglesia catedral de la misma provincia sobre la administración de la pila de bautismo, 1573, AGI, Justicia, leg. 178, no. 1, ramo 2.

⁵ Quiroga, "Testamento," p. 286.

⁶ Pages 276-284 of the printed edition of Quiroga's testament in Aguayo Spencer are concerned almost entirely with the hospitals of Santa Fe. This is nine pages out of a total text of seventeen pages. The text followed here will be that of the printed edition as emended by comparison with the manuscript copy in AGI, Justicia, leg. 208, no. 4. This copy was made by Alonso de Cáceres, the notary public apostolic who wrote out the original will for Quiroga.

arrangements he had made during his life and set up certain norms to be followed regarding the hospitals after his death.

He set up a complicated and somewhat confusing system of patrons for the hospitals. The one whom we may call the ordinary and proximate patron was the rector-lector of the college of San Nicolás, another of the bishop's prize projects, which he had founded in Pátzcuaro. In Quiroga's mind the college and hospitals were intimately connected and he prescribed that they were to help one another, "bearing one another's burdens" (Galatians 6:2). The hospitals were to give financial support to the rector of the college, and the college was to supply well-trained priests, capable in native languages, to take care of the hospitals. Above the rector in the hierarchy of patrons were the dean and college of canons of the cathedral of Michoacán, whose opinion was to be asked by the rector of San Nicolás before making appointments in Santa Fe.

As principal patron, protector and defender of the hospitals Quiroga designated Philip II, King of Spain, and his successors and in his name the president and oidores of the audiencia of Mexico and their successors, and he asked them to accept the patronage. In defect of the rector of San Nicolás, or in case a suitable and able person could not be found, or in his absence, the acuerdo of the president and oidores of the audiencia were to supply, decree, and see to the fulfillment of what Quiroga had commanded. If the King and audiencia were unwilling to accept the patronage of the hospitals, the bishop laid the obligation on the deans and cathedral chapters of the cathedrals of Mexico and Michoacán for that institution which fell within their respective

jurisdictions. He entreated the archbishop of Mexico and commanded his successors in Michoacán that they enforce what he had ordained and that no new innovation be made nor any commutation to any other pious work at any time. In his mind it would be difficult to find a more pious or better work or one better suited to the needs of the natives.

The principal duty of the rector of San Nicolás relative to the hospitals would be the selection and appointment of capable priests as rectors of the hospitals. They were to be virtuous and able, with a sufficient knowledge of Indian languages, prudent, and devoted to the hospitality of the pueblos and to the way in which it was to be carried out. The rector of San Nicolás was to appoint them for three years at a time, with the knowledge and approval of the patrons and defenders of the hospitals. Their appointments were not to last longer than three years nor were they to have the force of a benefice, but the hospitals were committed to their care only as minors are committed to their tutors and guardians. Their appointments might be renewed after three years, but only if the qualities of the man warranted it and if it would be good for the hospital to leave him there and harmful to remove him. Even then the renewal of his appointment would have to be made expressly in writing. In no other way than by this triennial appointment could anyone gain the right to the office of rector. The rector of San Nicolás was to keep a book in which the triennial appointments and re-appointments of the rectors of the hospitals were to be recorded. Besides the rector a chaplain or chaplains might be appointed annually for the hospitals to assist the rectors. Both the rectors and chaplains

were to be chosen preferably from among the priests who had been educated in the college of San Nicolás. It was to be presumed that they would be more devoted to the ends and purposes of the hospitals and more grateful for their benefits.

The rectors of the hospitals and the chaplain to whom it might be committed were obliged to teach the Indians of Santa Fe and other Indians who wished to come the Doctrina Cristiana which Quiroga had paid to have printed while he was in Sevilla in 1553. This book had been composed originally by Gutierre González, a protonotary and commensal of the pope, to be taught in a chapel in Jaén by a fourth chaplain appointed for this purpose. It was divided into two parts. The first part treated of the virtues and good social behavior for young people; the second part applied the teachings to particular states of life--children, clergy, theologians, jurists, doctors, noblemen, peasants, merchants, and artisans.⁷ Bishop Quiroga considered this book of Christian Doctrine to be particularly valuable for the Indians, because it gave them principles not only for spiritual life but also for correct moral and social behavior. He commanded that it be kept and guarded, with the admonitions contained in it, as though he himself had written them, as indeed he had made them his own by choosing and approving them. It was to be taught to all, both children and adults, because all had need of it. To the children it was to be taught every day of the year

⁷This work, which was long considered entirely lost, was found by G. R. G. Conway and a description of it was printed by Nicolás León, El Libro de Doctrina Christiana (México, 1928). But it seems now to have disappeared from view once more.

when there was an opportunity; to the adults on festive days so as not to interfere with their work. They were to repeat the doctrina so that they could give a good answer when questioned. The doctrina could be of value also to the Indians of the surrounding area who might wish to come there to be instructed and later could teach their relatives and neighbors in their villages, which was one of the principal causes which moved him to establish his hospitals. If at any time it would be possible to have a fourth chaplain in the hospitals, his principal duty would be the teaching of the Christian Doctrine, as in the chapel in Jaén. When there were only two chaplains besides the rector, it would be well if one of them would occupy himself primarily in this instruction.

The rector was also commanded in charity to preach the Holy Gospel to the Indians of the hospital in their own language on Sundays and principal feasts, and at least on those same days he was to have a High Mass. Special solemnity was to be given to the feasts of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (August 15), the Holy Saviour (November 9), the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14), St. Michael the Archangel (September 29), and St. Nicolas (December 6). Certain other obligations were laid on the rector and chaplains, if there were any such, to offer Masses and prayers for the patrons, founder, and benefactors of the hospitals, and also for Quiroga's departed parents and others whom he wished to remember.

Concerning the workings of the hospitals themselves, Quiroga asked that the rules and ordinances that he had written for them be

kept and enforced and that they should not be exceeded in anything. The dean and college of canons were to see that the ordinances were enforced. The number of residents in each of the hospitals should be kept at the highest level that each could conveniently support. When there were openings, other Indians were to be placed there by the rector and regidores of the hospitals after consultation with one another. Since the regidores were to be Indians of the pueblo, they would know best who were the most needy. The bishop reconfirmed everything that he had given, bought, or obtained from His Majesty for the pueblo. Santa Fe de la Laguna was assured the right to use a mill, fulling-mill, and pasturage for livestock in the valley of Guaniqueo. These had been granted to Quiroga for the support of his college and hospital in Michoacán by a royal cedula of July 31, 1545, and the grant was reconfirmed by another royal cedula of November 3, 1550.⁸

The bishop's will also laid certain financial obligations on the hospitals. Every year each of the hospitals was to take 150 ducados or its equivalent to the College of San Nicolás for the rector of the college. The rectors of the hospitals were each to be paid annually 150 gold pesos de minas or its equivalent and their food in moderation. If there were chaplains, their salary was to be 100 gold pesos de minas annually or its equivalent and their food with the rector. The hospitals were also commanded to give 50 ducados a year for special Mass intentions; 25 ducados of this amount were to be sent to the Church of San Nicolás in Madrigal, Spain, for Masses and prayers for the souls of

⁸Puga, II, 93-95.

the bishop's parents and to assure the proper care of their tomb. The other 25 ducados were to go to the dean and college of canons of the cathedral of Michoacán for Masses and prayers for Quiroga himself and for the benefactors of the cathedral, college, and hospitals. The obligations toward the college of San Nicolás and for the Masses were to be binding when the hospitals could conveniently fulfill them, concerning which a charge was laid on the consciences of the rectors of the hospitals and those who were obliged to attend to it.

Santa Fe de la Laguna was given the further obligation of helping the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción y Santa Marta which Quiroga had established in Pátzcuaro near the cathedral. To it the hospital of Santa Fe was to give annually three blankets for the beds of the poor. This obligation was to last for as long as the looms on which the blankets were made in Santa Fe should last.

The pueblos of Santa Fe were not without their share of lawsuits even after their founder's death. The first of them arose directly from Quiroga's will and its provisions regarding the patronage of the pueblos.⁹ On September 10, 1565, Don Pedro de Yepes presented a petition before the audiencia. Yepes, whom we met previously as Quiroga's lay attorney in the struggle with Juan Infante, had by this time become a canon and treasurer of the Cathedral of Michoacán. His petition was

⁹[El fiscal] con el dean y cabildo de Michoacán sobre el patronato de los dos hospitales de Santa Fe y Colegio de San Nicolás. 1566, AGI, Justicia, leg. 208, no. 4.

that the section of Quiroga's will be carried out in which he named the rector of San Nicolás and the cathedral chapter of Michoacán as patrons of the hospitals of Santa Fe and the Royal Audiencia of Mexico as its defender and protector. He presented a copy of Quiroga's will to show the nature of the patronage. The audiencia asked to see the cedula by which His Majesty had accepted the patronage of the college and hospitals. When Canon Yepes later presented the cedula, issued in Barcelona on May 1, 1543, he noted that it pertained only to San Nicolás and Santa Fe de Michoacán and he requested the royal patronage for them only. He said that Bishop Quiroga's intention was that the rector of San Nicolás with the college of canons should be the ordinary and inferior patron of the hospital, and that His Majesty should be the superior patron and supreme defender.

On December 4, 1565, the audiencia gave a decree in the case by which it declared the rector of San Nicolás and the cathedral chapter of Michoacán to be patrons and administrators of the College of San Nicolás and the hospitals of Santa Fe. In case they did not make use of this administration as the bishop had obliged them by his will, the audiencia would provide what was best. At this juncture the fiscal of the audiencia entered the case, asserting that Quiroga had given the patronage to the crown during his life and could not take it back by his last will. Yepes countered that there was no incompatibility between the inferior patronage of his party and the principal patronage of His Majesty. On December 19 the audiencia confirmed its decree of December 4. The fiscal, however, appealed the case to the Council of

the Indies and, in spite of the formal protest of the other side, the audiencia granted the appeal in a decree of January 16, 1566. But in the same decree they commanded that a carta ejecutoria be given to the rector of San Nicolás and the cathedral chapter, provided they gave bond in case they should lose the suit in Spain. A copy of the suit was to be kept in Mexico and the original sent to Spain. The case was received in Madrid on November 9, 1566, but there is no indication that it was ever pursued further.

On February 5, 1566, the carta ejecutoria was issued by the audiencia to the patrons of the college and hospitals.¹⁰ Don Pedro de Yepes was given possession of Santa Fe de México in the name of its patrons on April 25, 1566, by authority of Cristóbal de Cubillas, deputy of the alguacil mayor de corte, and in the presence of the scribe Sebastián Vázquez. Included in the acts of possession were the hospital, church, sacristy and all contained in them, the inn near the hospital, the lands of the pueblo, a mill with two stones for grinding flour, and a fulling-mill with two wheels and two sets of pestles. On April 26 Jerónimo de Medina, substituting for Yepes, took possession of the island of Tultepec with its church of St. Paul near the pueblos of Capulhuac and Ococoacac.

¹⁰ The introductory section of this decree is printed in León, Documentos, pp. 33-34. The complete document together with the acts of possession of Santa Fe de México is found in: Ciudad de México con el dean y cabildo de la Iglesia de Michoacán sobre que se incorpore y anexe el hospital que fundó D. Vasco de Quiroga, obispo de la dicha iglesia, a él de los indios de la mencionada Ciudad de México, 1572, AGI, Justicia, leg. 171, no. 2. Two other copies are found in: El obispo de Michoacán a Su Majestad, 8 de abril, 1661, AGI, México, leg. 374. All of them incorporate copies of Quiroga's will which derive from that contained in AGI, Justicia, leg. 208, no. 4.

After Bishop Quiroga's death the pueblo of Santa Fe de la Laguna appears to have had a rather peaceful history, so that we find little more than an occasional reference to it in the letters of the bishops of Michoacán. But Santa Fe de México, lying outside the province and diocese of Michoacán but subject to the ecclesiastical authorities of that diocese, continued to be a center of disputes.

In 1572 the City of Mexico once more attempted to gain control of the hospital which lay on its outskirts.¹¹ On October 13, 1572, Jerónimo López, procurador mayor of the city, petitioned the audiencia that he be allowed to take testimony to show that the will of the founder of Santa Fe de México was not being carried out, because very few Indians went to the hospital to be cured. In the royal hospital for the Indians in Mexico City, on the other hand, there were many sick Indians and the hospital was poor. According to López and the City of Mexico, the will of the founder of Santa Fe de México would be fulfilled much better if Santa Fe with its considerable incomes were annexed to the royal hospital. There is ample reason to doubt that Bishop Quiroga would have considered this a fulfillment of his wishes, since in his testament he had been very firm in stating that the work of Santa Fe was not to be commuted to any other pious work. The petition and questionnaire presented by the city made it appear that Quiroga's prime purpose in founding Santa Fe was the care of the sick. But we have seen that this was not true.

¹¹ El consejo, justicia y regimiento de la Ciudad de México con el dean y cabildo de la Iglesia de Michoacán, 1572, AGI, Justicia, leg. 171, no. 2.

Nevertheless, the petition of the city gained some strong supporters. When the new bishop of Michoacán, Don Antonio de Morales Molino, was contacted regarding the petition, he stated that it appeared to him to be holy and in conformity with the will of his predecessor and that he had nothing to say against it, provided the rights of the cathedral chapter and the rector of San Nicolás were maintained regarding the appointment of the rector of the pueblo and the support of the rector of the college. He would also ask His Majesty and His Holiness to grant the annexation. When the case was sent before the Council of the Indies, the viceroy and oidores of Mexico also sent their pareceres in favor of the annexation. In fact, only the cathedral chapter of Michoacán put up a struggle against the move by the City of Mexico.

The testimony taken at López' request brought to light several interesting facts regarding Santa Fe de México. First of all, it becomes quite evident that very few Indians from outside the pueblo were going there to be cured of their infirmities. Bernaldino de Albornoz stated that he had gone to Santa Fe on November 15, 1572, and had found only three Indians and two Spaniards who had gone there to be cured. On the same day he had seen thirty-eight Indians in the royal hospital. Francisco Ponce, who had once served the sick in Santa Fe for ten months, said that there had been one, two, or three sick people there at a time, and at other times none. Father Diego Cavallero Bazán, who was rector of the hospital at the time and had held the office for four years, declared that during the time he had been rector he had not seen more than ten Indians from outside the pueblo come there to be cured. At

times there had been four to six sick Indians of the pueblo itself there, sometimes less, sometimes more. From others he had heard that the same conditions had prevailed there for many years. He approved of the city's proposed plan of annexation.

In the course of the testimony we also find some interesting information regarding the income of the pueblo. Father Bartolomé de Saldaña, who had at one time been rector of the hospital for three years, said that annual income of the pueblo was more than 3,000 pesos de oro común, which they got from about 800 fanegas of wheat, a herd of goats, a mill and fulling-mill, and workshops for making blankets. Father Bazán said that the annual income was about 4,000 pesos before subtracting the costs. At the time they were supporting their rector and one chaplain.

On November 28, 1572, Licenciado Cristóbal de Badillo, archdeacon of Michoacán, gave a rather lengthy reply to the petition of the City of Mexico. In brief he contended that Santa Fe de México was fulfilling its purpose by the care of orphans, the poor, and other people in need of help. The income of the pueblo was necessary for the continued good work of the College of San Nicolás. In his opinion the City of Mexico should face up to its own obligation to support the hospital of the city.

In spite of the protests of the cathedral chapter of Michoacán, the case was sent to Spain with pareceres of the viceroy and oidores, advising that the annexation should be made, preserving the rights of the cathedral chapter of Michoacán and the rector of San Nicolás, and

that His Majesty should request the pope to allow this change. When the Council began consideration of the case in mid-1574 the fiscal entered the case to complain against the decision of the audiencia, which had given the patronage of the hospital to the cathedral chapter of Michoacán even though the king had previously accepted it. The attorney for the cathedral chapter requested that the fiscal should not be allowed to pursue this question, since it had already been settled. Regarding the question of annexation, he stated that the will of a testator took on the nature of particular law and that it could not be changed even for something better. The Council gave a decision on July 27, 1574, declaring that the fiscal could pursue the case regarding the patronage but that the annexation was not to be allowed for the present. This decision was reconfirmed on August 31, 1574. There is no evidence that the fiscal took further action in the case.

To draw this section of our work to a close we will turn to a report submitted to His Majesty by Bishop Juan de Medina Rincón, Quiroga's second successor in Michoacán, dated March 4, 1582.¹² The prelate found the patronage of the college and hospitals in a somewhat regrettable condition. Apparently the patronage had come entirely into the hands of the cathedral chapter, since no mention was made of the rector of the college as a patron. The bishop could not understand on what basis the audiencia had awarded the patronage to the chapter. He advised the crown that it should assert its primary patronage and have the chapter

¹² Relación que Su Majestad manda se envíe a su real consejo del obispo de Michoacán, Valladolid de Michoacán, 4 de marzo, 1582, AGI, México, leg. 374.

appoint one of its members each year to administer it. As it was, there was no agreement among the canons as to how to carry on the administration and no stability in their decisions. The administration had come to such a bad state that the canons had finally renounced it irrevocably to the bishop. He in turn had appointed one of their number, Canon Alonso Ruiz, to take charge of it, but they were dissatisfied with this and it seemed that in order to avoid lawsuits something else would have to be worked out. He was especially concerned for the college from which great good came for the Church in that region.

The idea of hospitals for the sick had taken a strong hold in Michoacán. The bishop wrote that nearly every pueblo of twenty or thirty houses prided itself on its hospital, which was cared for by the Indian men and women who came in turns to serve in it. He estimated that there must be more than 200 such hospitals in the diocese.

Concerning the hospitals of Santa Fe in particular, he noted that Santa Fe de México had an annual income of 3,500 pesos and with proper care it would have been more than 4,000 pesos. From this they supported a rector and three chaplains, all of whom were appointed by the canons. The rector had charge of the Indians in temporal matters and was their vicar in spiritual matters. One of the chaplains resided in Mexico City and came and went to help the rector in Santa Fe. The other two lived in Michoacán, one of them being the rector of the college, who received a little extra support in this way. The chaplains had an obligation of three Masses each week. The rector as vicar and administrator was paid 250 pesos de minas annually plus his food; the

chaplains were given 100 pesos de minas. Besides this, the hospital helped the college with 150 ducados annually and paid salaries to certain officials of the pueblo itself. The money that was left over was spent in the infirmary or on the poor among them who were in need. Bishop Quiroga had administered Santa Fe de México as an adjunct of his diocese. The present bishop had an agreement with the archbishop of Mexico that whichever bishop was there administered Santa Fe de México as a thing of his own.

Santa Fe de la Laguna, being farther from Mexico City, did not have the income of its sister institution. The income was uncertain and irregular, since it resulted mainly from their work and industry. They harvested wheat and maize and had some looms. They had one diocesan priest who was in charge of the pueblo and who taught them doctrine. He was appointed by the cathedral chapter and received 150 pesos de minas annually. They paid their 150 ducados annually to the college. They supported an infirmary also and, if they had anything left, they bought ornaments for their church, something to which all the Indians were much attached.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding pages we have watched something of the formation and realization of a great idea, guided by the determined hand of the man who fathered it. It was an expression of the best European tradition of Christian charity as applied to the care of the sick, the poor, and the unfortunate. The transfer of this tradition to the New World and its expression through the forms of Thomas More's Utopia set the pueblos de Santa Fe apart from other such charitable enterprises. The transfer of other less highly motivated European and Spanish traditions and modes of thought to the New World has been given such disproportionate attention in works on Latin America that we tend to forget that work like that of Vasco de Quiroga expressed the tradition more fully than did the activity of the conquerors. The elderly cidor and bishop, with his love for books and learning and his experience in one of the most cultured courts in Europe, certainly had drunk more deeply of the traditions of Europe and was more capable of giving expression to them than the conquistador, who perhaps had seen little more of Spain and Europe than the pueblo where he grew up.

The kind of documentation that we have been able to use here has in some ways given us a more intimate picture of the founder of the pueblo-hospitals than of the life of the institutions themselves. We

have seen Quiroga coming from Spain, a man already advanced in years, in order to help the Indians in their need. He found many poor and neglected people in need of social organization, instruction, and protection. In seeking a way to take care of them his mind fell upon the imaginary society described by the great English chancellor. His idealistic spirit was stirred by the possibilities he envisioned in a society organized after this model. Although his vision embraced the whole Indian population of the New World, he was willing to begin with only one or two pueblos by way of an experiment. On these pueblos he selflessly spent the greater part of his salary, treating them always as his favored children. We have seen him among his Indians, teaching them and leading them away from their savagery like a loving father. He wished to be father to his brown children also in the life of the spirit. For this reason instruction in the Catholic faith was a work of basic importance in his pueblo-hospitals of Holy Faith. His apostolic spirit led him to work with even the fierce Chichimecs, some of the least civilized Indians with whom the Spaniards had come into contact up to that time. Even these nomadic hunters and gatherers were attracted by the kindness of the elderly oidor and bishop and came to listen to his teaching.

But we have also seen that Quiroga could be a fiercely protective father when he saw that the security of his pueblos was endangered. As a layman he had learned to be an expert jurist; as bishop he found himself again and again called upon to use all the tricks of his legal trade in protection of his favorite project. We have seen him willing

to resist by every means possible a decree of the council and audiencia when he saw that it would endanger the existence of one of his pueblos. Throughout his whole life in New Spain he resisted the slanderous and greedy attacks against his Santa Fe de México by the cabildo of Mexico City. Near the end of his life, when his health was already broken under the weight of his nearly ninety years, he determinedly faced one of the most powerful men of Mexico, the second Marqués del Valle, and once more won a legal victory for Santa Fe de México.

Quiroga's work for his hospitales de Santa Fe shows him in his best light. There are other aspects of his life in which he may appear too litigious, unyielding in points of law and legal right. His relations with his fellow bishops, with the religious orders, and with the secular population of Michoacán might have been happier if he had been more willing to make an occasional compromise. These areas of his life will have to be the subject of further study; for the present we will leave him in that role in which he makes the best impression.

A question that is frequently asked regarding the pueblo-hospitals of Santa Fe is whether or not they were successful. The answer to this question must be approached from several angles. Certainly in the mind of their founder they were successful. When he spoke of them in his will it was with a glow of warm pride as of a man who feels that he has done a good job. We have spoken twice previously of the words of his will in which he described the pueblos of Santa Fe in superlative terms as the best work that could be done for the Indians and the one most fully adapted to their needs. When we read his words to the effect that in

these pueblos he had fulfilled his intention of helping the Indians, the intention for which he had come to the New World, we feel that he was well satisfied with the work that had been done. Judging from what we know of Quiroga's character we would say that he must have considered his work a success from the time that he saw the first large group of Indian neophytes receiving the waters of baptism in his pueblos.

Another angle from which we can approach the question of the success of the pueblos is whether or not the Utopian form of community was a lasting way of life for the pueblos. To this question we can give no definite answer. We have seen that prior to 1535 Quiroga had proposed the Utopian form as a basis for reorganizing native society. In the "Ordenanzas" written during the last ten years of his life, he still showed strong influence of the ideas of Sir Thomas More. But we do not have sufficient information as to the actual day-to-day operation of the pueblos to be able to say how far these norms influenced the actual life of the pueblos. We would like to presume that the bishop's ordinances were enforced faithfully, but we must recognize that it is a fallacy in history to presume facts on the basis of the law. A rather disturbing fact in this regard is that, when Moreno wrote his life of Quiroga (1766), he could find only one incomplete copy of the "Ordenanzas" hidden away in the archive of the cathedral chapter of the diocese of Michoacán. By his time their influence must not have been very great, except by way of a tradition.

Financially the pueblos seem to have had considerable success, especially Santa Fe de México. The 3,000-4,000 pesos which this pueblo

central and marked no weapons. In Berlin I had an audience with
 an old teacher, whom I had seen at piano recital on concert tour mentioned with
 great pride by his wife. This man had had three other children like her
 now deceased and from all that he knew or imagined, it seemed to her
 to be quite equal merit that she had three sons in their old
 condition and as I listened to stories and pictures of her
 life I could see how difficult it was for her to keep up
 the courage to meet anyone who had known her when
 she was an attractive girl of sixteen and yet still to bear up under a
 bereaved husband who of course had given up all hope of
 ever finding another woman to take his place. I
 asked her if she had any idea what kind of person
 she would like to have as a son-in-law and she said "anyone
 who can talk good English and speak out to sensible people
 and be willing to work hard and not mind getting up
 before six in the morning and not mind getting up
 after ten at night because that's what you do when you're
 responsible for a wife and two children or take him as a
 soldier who is still young enough to be
 qualified as an engineer trainee or the like. He will have
 to work hard to start out to speak correctly to women
 and to tell the story of his work, that is longer than in fact
 himself. You know that's not so good a background and that will bring up, (NOV)
 probably to me. It will be rather orthodox and it's evident that at your
 age you have received some sound training that will
 stand him in good stead. I think it's important
 to have some experience and that of course includes
 some military duties since 100,000,000,000 of armed forces

was grossing annually at the time of Quiroga's death was undoubtedly the major reason why the City of Mexico kept casting greedy glances in its direction. We have very little information about the financial success of Santa Fe de la Laguna, although from the words of Bishop Medina we can judge that it was paying its own way and fulfilling its obligations.

The population of the pueblos de Santa Fe has been greatly exaggerated. The Augustinian chronicler, Juan de Grijalva, started the trouble in his chronicle of the provinces of his Order in New Spain, and nearly everyone else who has said anything on the population of the pueblos has depended on Fray Juan's statement. He asserted in one place that the population of Santa Fe [de México] was 12,000 vecinos; in another, that is was 30,000 persons.¹ From the context it appears that this number had supposedly been reached already at the time when Fray Alonso de Borja came to work there, that is, prior to 1536. Contemporary documents do not support the Augustinian's estimate. When the fiscal of the audiencia was supporting Gonzalo Ruiz' suit in 1557, he asserted that Santa Fe de México was a pueblo of more than 300 vecinos.² Since he was trying to show that the pueblo had grown so large that Quiroga should no longer have control of it, he would have tended to exaggerate rather than underestimate the population. At about the same time the Indians of Tzintzuntzan

¹ Juan de Grijalva, Crónica de la Orden de N. P. S. Augustín en las provincias de la Nueva España (México, 1927), pp. 54-55.

² Quiroga vs. Ruiz.

claimed that Santa Fe de la Laguna had about 800 married men.³ Most of the Indian witnesses agreed with this number and several gave as their source Don Diego Charángari, a principal of the pueblo, although one gave the number of Indians as 400 and another as only 40. Again this is an instance in which the natural tendency would have been to exaggerate. In 1570, five years after Quiroga's death, the rector of Santa Fe de México, Diego Caballero Bazán, reported that in this pueblo there were 130 vecinos and about 500 people who were obliged to go to confession (i.e., all those over seven years old).⁴ Bishop Medina in his report of 1582 said that Quiroga had founded Santa Fe de México with about 120 casados and that it had increased, but by the time of writing they had been reduced to 70 or 80, due to a recent pestilence. In Santa Fe de la Laguna, which Quiroga had founded with 200 Indians, by Medina's time there were about 100 Indians or a few more.⁵ Presumably in the latter case as in the former when the bishop spoke of Indios he meant casados, or heads of families.

The pueblos of Santa Fe have continued to exist as pueblos down to the present day. It is difficult to know at what time they ceased to operate according to their original plan. In 1696 Bachiller Don

³Comisión dada por la Real Audiencia de México el año de 1556 a Silvestre de Solórzano, escribano de esta audiencia para que averiguase los malos tratamientos que se hacían a varios Indios de la provincia de Michoacán, 1556, AGI, Justicia, leg. 278.

⁴Luis García Pimentel, Descripción del arzobispado de México hecha in 1570 y otros documentos (México, 1897), p. 266.

⁵Relación que su Majestad manda se envíe a su real consejo del obispo de Michoacán, Valladolid, 4 de marzo, 1582, AGI, México, leg. 374.

Nicolás Joseph de Soria Villaroel was serving as cura and rector of both pueblos of Santa Fe, and had been appointed to the office by the cathedral chapter of Michoacán. He claimed to have been examined and approved in the Otomí, Mexican, and Tarascan languages. He taught his charges Christian doctrine, heard their confessions, and preached to them in their native languages. He also taught them the ways of civilized life (vida política) and had provided them with a school and teacher to teach them to speak Spanish and also to read and write.⁶ Thus he would seem to have complied fairly well with the main provisions of Quiroga's will. We have no information as to how much longer this kind of work continued in the pueblos of Santa Fe. At the time when Moreno wrote his work on Quiroga, the pueblos were apparently still subject to the authority of the cathedral chapter of Michoacán but, except for the fact the pueblos were no longer able to satisfy obligations for Masses that Quiroga had placed on them,⁷ he gives us little information about their operation.

In recent years the work of Bishop Quiroga in his pueblos of Santa Fe has been the subject of study and comment in Mexico by men of

⁶ Testimonio de los recaudos y información de la calidad, méritos, y servicios del Doctor D. Jerónimo de Soria Velásquez, colegial del insigne Colegio Viejo de N. S. de Todos Santos de esta ciudad y abogado de esta Real Audiencia y de la de Guadalajara--y de los del Bachiller D. Nicolás Joseph de Soria Villaroel, presbítero, cura rector de los pueblos de Santa Fe del Río y la Laguna en la Provincia de Michoacán, México, 1596, AGI, Escrivanía de Cámara, leg. 207C.

⁷ Moreno, p. 132.

the most opposed ideologies, each trying to use it for his own purposes. This is not surprising, since for many years the Communists have tried to uproot the Utopia from the ground of its author's thought and life and to transplant it into the sterile soil of their completely materialistic ideology. Communism as an economy has been associated with many forms of thought over the course of the centuries. We need only call to mind that the first socio-economic experiment of Christianity was the communistic life of the Church of Jerusalem in which, without denying the right to personal property, "they had all things in common" (Acts 4:32). This type of communism has always played a part in the life of the Catholic Church through its religious Orders, whose members own no personal property but do not deny the right of private ownership. The form of communism presented by More in his Utopia was associated with a high level of natural religion, an idealized religious thought which contained nearly all of the elements which the Scholastic theologians considered that the mind of man could attain without Christian revelation. Marxian communism, at the opposite extreme from early Christian and monastic communism, is completely materialistic in its orientation, denying the very existence of the spiritual and the fundamental right of ownership. Thus, the communistic manner of control and use of property has been associated as a form of economic life with the most diverse ideologies. Always the ideology has been considered the matter of basic importance.

Bishop Quiroga's little communistic communities must be placed on the end of the scale with the early Christian community. His purpose

was to renew a state close to that of the early Church, for which he thought the Indian was particularly well-adapted. He found in the Utopia a form of life which suited his purpose, once the naturalistic elements had been replaced by a Catholic way of life. It must be remembered also that the Indians who came to Santa Fe were for the most part the poor and needy, or nomadic groups such as the Chichimecs, who had little by the way of private property. A communal form of landholding was necessary, since many of those who came to the pueblo were not expected to stay permanently.

It is a form of praise when a person's enemies find many things worthy of imitation in his work. Bishop Quiroga certainly would not see a very kindred spirit in Vicente Lombardo Toledano, who suggested improving on the "Ordenanzas" by removing all of the religious elements from them.⁸ But Toledano was able to see the value of Quiroga's approach to the education of the Indians, and in this there is some small praise for the bishop's work, even though the bishop considered the matter of the instruction of greater importance than the method. The same may be said of others of the Marxist school of thought who attempt to divert Quiroga's Catholic theistic communism into a precedent for their materialistic communism.

Genaro Estrada, in his introduction to Zavala's La "Utopia" de Tomás Moro en la Nueva España, saw in the discovery of Quiroga's dependence on More a matter of significance for the movement of social

⁸Cf. Silvio Zavala, Ideario de Vasco de Quiroga (México, 1941), pp. 61-62, n. 26.

reform in Mexico.⁹ This aroused the indignation of Edmundo O'Gorman, who made an admittedly impassioned reply concerned more with Estrada's introduction than with Zavala's work and more with More's thought than with Quiroga's actualization of that thought.¹⁰ If Estrada saw an importance of Quiroga's thought in the time of Mexican reform, the reform certainly might have profited from it. The kind bishop's way of remaking society was not that of violent social upheaval, of inciting the poor against the rich, or of taking property from its owners in order to give it to others. Rather, in a spirit of self-forgetfulness, he gave up nearly everything he possessed in order to establish a place where the poor and sick might be cared for and the ignorant educated to take their place in a civilized form of life. He bought the property with his own money, he attracted the natives there by his kindness, and he provided them with teachers to help them improve their condition. If the Mexicans of Estrada's day had learned from Quiroga this lesson of social reform, their efforts would have seen far greater success.

⁹ Zavala, La "Utopía" de Tomás Moro en la Nueva España y otros estudios (México, 1937), p. viii.

¹⁰ Justino Fernández y Edmundo O'Gorman, Santo Tomás More y "La Utopía de Tomás Moro en la Nueva España" (México, 1937), pp. 25-37.

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A wide range of manuscript materials preserved in Spanish archives and libraries, which were visited by the author during the year 1961, has been utilized in the preparation of this dissertation. These collections included: Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla (AGI); Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (AHN); Biblioteca Nacional; Archivo General de Simancas (AGS); Archivo de la Chancillería Real, Granada; Archivo del Hospital Tavera, Toledo; Archivo Parroquial de Madrigal.

The principal repository of manuscript materials relative to Quiroga's life and activities in the New World is the Archivo General de Indias (AGI). In this collection the author examined appropriate sections of the Patronato, Audiencia de México and Indiferente General series, which contain correspondence, legislation, and consultas of the Council of the Indies for the period of Quiroga's activities in New Spain. These series of the Archivo General de Indias proved disappointing in one important respect--they contain only a small amount of Quiroga's correspondence to King and Council and to other officials of the Spanish government. We know from references in Quiroga's extant correspondence that he wrote a considerable number of letters and reports which were not found. The loss of these items of correspondence is to be regretted since through them we might hope to get a clearer picture of Quiroga's personal feelings and attitudes regarding the questions we have discussed here.

The judicial series of the Archivo General de Indias--Justicia and Escribanía de Cámara--contain a great mass of documentation relating to the pueblo-hospitals of Santa Fe and to various other aspects of Quiroga's career as oidor of New Spain and bishop of Michoacán. Often they give a surprising amount of biographical information concerning Quiroga. As a trained lawyer he kept a close watch over the progress of his lawsuits and frequently signed the petitions presented by his attorney. At other times items of biographical importance constitute an essential part of the lawsuits.

Research in the collections in Madrid, Simancas, Granada, Toledo, and Madrigal was directed toward the discovery of data on the family background of Quiroga and his career in Spain before his appointment as a member of the Second Audiencia of Mexico. Concerning these aspects of his life-history little exact information has been available. Although this search brought to light certain interesting new information, summarized in Chapter II, in other respects it did not yield all that might have been hoped, for it still leaves significant gaps in our knowledge of Quiroga's activities prior to 1529-1530. Some of these deficiencies may be filled in by research in other areas of the Spanish archives. The Registro General del Sello, for instance, in the Archivo General de Simancas may well record data concerning Quiroga's services to the crown. Because of the short time which the author could devote to research in the Archive of Simancas no attempt was made to examine in detail this lengthy series. A detailed index of the series is in preparation but does not yet include the years of Quiroga's activities.

The reader will find the citations to specific documents or documentary series in the footnotes of the various chapters. To facilitate citation of data in lengthy expedientes, such as the residencia of the Second Audiencia of Mexico and various lawsuits in which Quiroga was involved, abbreviated titles are used in the notes. The key to these and other abbreviations is found on pp. iv-v.

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